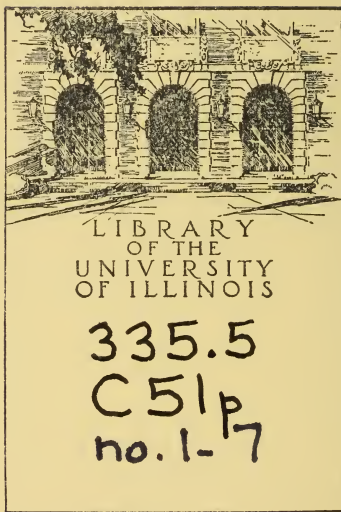


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THE BLUE EAGLE IS DEAD — SO WHAT!

no. 1

By

AUGUST CLAESSENS

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THE BLUE EAGLE IS DEAD —SO WHAT!

By August Claessens

The Supreme Court of the United States has batted out the N.R.A. By a unanimous decision it slew the Blue Eagle. Immediately, there followed a wailing and a wringing of hands. A calamity had struck the nation. The New Deal had been declared a misdeal and all the good liberals and progressives were shocked and panic-stricken. With one fell stroke nine high judges ruined a noble experiment. In the brief space of a few hours social progress in these United States was rudely halted and the whole procession was detoured back to the jungle. Curses and consternation filled the air. President Roosevelt, deeply hurt, muttered something about changing the Constitution. Brain-trusters hinted that the Supreme Court should be increased in membership and that some genuine progressives should be appointed. Liberals threaten a new political alignment. Some labor leaders speak of a Labor Party. Strife is predicted and reprisals are promised. Gloom and storm clouds gather. Only big business and its reactionary allies are happy.

All this woe and mourning is really much belated. The Blue Eagle has been sick a long time. It was hatched out of a badly cracked egg. The poor chick

was pecked at continuously and it was clipped and crippled before it could attempt to fly. The New Deal fed it with promises and its administrators and the Federal Courts befouled its nest with concessions and interpretations so that the poor bird really never had a chance during the two years originally allotted for its existence. So the Supreme Court did the merciful thing in putting an end to its misery. The decision was long expected. The Court merely awaited an appropriate occasion and when the Poultry case arrived on the calendar, the Supreme Court reversed the zoological adventure and used a chicken to kill an eagle.

So where are we at now? And where are we going from here? The answer to these questions may become clearer when we know where we have been and how we got there.

The N.R.A. was part of a plan to end the depression. It was proposed by an ambitious group of progressives after the hard times had devastated the land for four years. However, up to the moment that the Blue Eagle died the depression was still with us. After a brief and hopeful few months of improvement in 1933 unemployment again began to increase. Only the huge expenditures for public projects and relief saved the country from still greater disaster. Now then, just what causes a depres-

sion? Knowing its nature and causes we should know more clearly how a depression can be ended.

What's a Depression?

The popular notion is that the depression was caused by the Wall Street crash. The blow-out following several years of hectic gambling and inflation certainly had something to do with the grand smash-up. But mere gambling and speculation alone could not have brought all the ruin. True, gambling on the stock market and wild-cat speculation had over-run their usual channels in the boom years from 1924 to 1929. It is also true that millions of non-professionals entered into the "easy money" racket who had not been previously roped in. Buying on the margin, that is buying only an edge on the beautifully engraved papers, and paying the rest on the instalment plan, brought in droves of wild asses into the Wall Street swindle. Backing these ventures with unlimited credit taxed the banks and credit joints beyond the strength of their generally rotten foundations. Of course, the crack-up was inevitable. In the months of August and October 1929 the crash came. There were days, so said the newspapers, that billions were lost in Wall Street. This was only true figuratively. Not a penny was found by those who cleaned up the offices at night. Millions were lost that never existed. Billions of dollars were lost only in the sense that they were transferred from the pockets of hordes of would-be gamblers and

suckers generally to the spacious pockets of those to whom all blessings flow. It wound up in a frightful clean out. And if it hadn't been for so much weeping we would have had the drought that year. Although this shock stirred the nation into convulsions it did not, however, really cause the depression. What immediately followed did the damage. It wasn't the thunder, but the lightning that struck and burned the barn.

Remember, it was the "late" Herbert Hoover, who was in charge at that time. Poor Herbert, for whom one malicious business concern named a vacuum cleaner, saw what was coming and he labored mightily to avert it. Remember, early in 1930 he called conferences of bankers and manufacturers. He told them that the country was fundamentally sound, that the real wealth was still here and the working people would continue to do their usual chores and that really no tangible values had been lost. Hoover was right. Then he begged the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Stick-up Men and Boodlers to beware. Said Herbert "No lay offs now. No cut in wages. No lengthening in the hours of labor and we will weather the storm." The business fraternity answered amen. The newspapers shouted hallelujah. The trade-unions promised to behave. And THEN came the smash. The same business men that had promised Hoover so faithfully forgot that they saw him and immediately began chiselling. Beginning in 1930 and increasing in tempo through 1931 and 1932,

wage cuts followed wage cuts in monotonous regularity. In a relatively short spell the income of millions of workers was cut in half and by 1932 skilled workers considered themselves fortunate earning at most \$25.00 per week where they formerly earned \$50.00 or \$60.00. Still more millions were cut to \$10.00 a week and in many instances unskilled workers got as little as \$5.00. More pitiful evidence showed that shirt makers, cotton goods, textile and other workers were laboring unlimited hours for wages at \$2.00 per week and even less. When the Labor Department and Trade Union reports were published of the havoc caused by the successive wage cuts, amazement and cursing swept over the land.

These severe cuts reduced the purchasing power of the great mass of the American people. The best and largest market for American goods was brutally damaged. Obviously, with this tremendous slash in purchasing power the demand for goods fell rapidly. Production was reduced and more workers were thrown out of employment. And as the army of the jobless began to grow purchasing power fell off still more and the competition for jobs drove wages lower and lower. By 1932 there were about 15,000,000 out of work. Business failures, bank closings, foreclosures, failure to collect taxes and the accompanying ills soon brought more wreck and ruin throughout the country than could have happened through a series of earthquakes, floods and tornadoes.

So we repeat, it wasn't Wall Street alone that brought the calamity. Mainly, it came because of the mass attack of the capitalist class upon the standard of living existing at that time for the American working class.

The New Deal

This wholesale misery presented the background for the campaign for the Presidential election in 1932. With an all-consuming rage the voters swept the Republican Party out of office. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was chosen as the Messiah and when he was inaugurated on the historic March 4th, 1933, he had a nice kettle of fish on his hands. Preparing for the celebration, banks had been closing with doleful regularity all around the country. The grand slam in Detroit, Cleveland and New York forced action by the authorities and the first act of Roosevelt after being sworn in was to issue an order closing every bank in the country.

Shortly thereafter Roosevelt sensing the intellectual poverty of his own party he raided the colleges and collected a brain trust. Then the fun commenced. They quickly got us off the gold standard. Of course, most of us anticipated that action by several years and many of us never were on the gold standard. Then came the alphabetical deluge, the A.A.A., P.W.A., N.I.R.A., C.C.C., C.W.A., X.Y.Z., etc., etc., and soon the Blue Eagle made his public appearance. First, we had to destroy the surplus and gear

down production, particularly in the agricultural field. In the face of a great need for food, clothing, etc., there began the insane stunts of plowing under cotton, tobacco and pork, the reduction of farm acreage in the hope of raising the price of farm products and saving the farmer from absolute bankruptcy. In sympathy with these feeble efforts the Almighty came to the rescue with a first class drought!

Under the C.W.A., P.W.A., C.C.C., etc., the brain trusters blew in a fortune putting men to work lifting the face of nature, manicuring hillsides and roadways and beautifying the ugliness surrounding us. The grand idea was to put money into circulation, but the dribble was spread out so thin that the increase in food prices soaked up the governmental beneficence without leaving a trace of the moisture in storage. But the grandest scheme of all was the N.R.A. This plan was the stroke intended to kill the depression. Attacking the blight on all fronts, the N.R.A. was to restore the American standard of living for the working class and to stabilize industry by substituting fair competition for unfair competition.

Came the Codes

Said the N.R.A., "Wages must rise. Hours of labor must be shortened. Prices must be controlled

and regulated. Business must be organized. Economics must be humanized." With a cockeyed glance at the Supreme Court, we were off on the grand adventure!

It is true that the plan worked fairly well at the start. The same fraternity that gave Hoover promises to do these very things in 1930 were behind Roosevelt. How far behind they were, our President now knows to his sorrow. Wiser than Hoover, President Roosevelt did not take these bandits at their word. No, sir! He made them draw up codes of agreement, and sign them and to make it unanimous he also signed these codes and thus they became the law of the land. Before the Supreme Court seduced the whole picnic there were several hundreds of these codes in existence.

Labor was permitted to horn in where it was organized. The N.R.A. granted the principle of collective bargaining, but by the time the brain trusters and lawyers got around to defining and interpreting the now famous Section 7-A, the whole business ascended into the realm of theology and no one could distinguish whether the N.R.A. recognized unions or onions. However, where labor was organized, militant and aggressive, it did get something out of the N.R.A. Using the minimum basis of wages in the N.R.A. organized labor fought for a maximum. The Enforcement Boards and Code Authorities certainly were a great help. For once organized labor could

call in a cop on some chiseler and yell when this gent was pulling feathers out of the Blue Eagle's tail. It is an indisputable fact that N.R.A. gave a great impetus to labor organization and if the A. F. of L. had only had the funds, man-power and the will, many more millions of workers could have been organized into fighting forces. Where the workers were not organized they got whatever the codes offered them, and in most instances asking nothing, unorganized workers got nothing.

Then again, the N.R.A. was effective against the small chiselers mainly. When it went after the big ones the jig was up. Remember the answer Henry Ford gave when they tried to sell him the Blue Eagle? Remember how they threatened what they would do to him if he defied the N.R.A.? And do you also remember that he saluted the New Deal with his nose and five fingers and the whole N.R.A. crew retreated? Why didn't they use the penalties that the law provided? Were they really afraid of the Supreme Court? Remember how they answered Mr. Weir of the Steel Trust? How vainly the N.R.A. was invoked against the Weirton terror and its company union? And then the experiences with the Textile, Coal Mining and Automobile magnates. Why didn't the President and the N.R.A. get into action? Were they afraid? Did they know in advance that if they started to spank the big bad boys these

striplings would immediately run to their nine granddaddies at the Supreme Court and get protection? And so where Mr. Ford was gentlemanly, Mr. Weir and his fellow pirates saluted the N.R.A. with all ten fingers. That is what we meant when we said that the Blue Eagle's funeral was delayed. All that the Supreme Court did was to provide the proper ceremony and in the prayer it said something about the danger of granting the President too much power (sic!), of the N.R.A. being muddled on the fine distinction between inter and intra state commerce. And along with these crimes the damned Blue Buzzard was unconstitutional. And so the show ended.

As we have said, the wailing and weeping was great. Hastily, the President and Congress built up a skeleton N.R.A. Pleading and beseeching, Roosevelt asked the Amalgamated Chiselers to voluntarily enforce the now dead N.R.A.

So What?

The present situation is critical. Where labor is well organized and militant all is not lost. It is to the great credit of unions like the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Mine Workers and a host of smaller unions that they immediately called a mobilization of their membership. They immediately answered the threat facing them by an outpouring of hundreds of thousands of fighters. In clarion tones they sounded the call to not yield

an inch. Stirred by this spectacle, tens of thousands of new members formerly not organized stormed for admission. And so one aspect of the struggle is not gloomy.

But where the workers are not organized the situation is fraught with danger. A day or two after the invalidation of the N.R.A. news came in from all over the country that the pitifully low wages were being slashed. Hours of labor were again being stretched and unbelievable, but true, some employers were demanding a return of the increases given to their workers under the compulsion of the N.R.A.! In other words, we are facing exactly the situation that confronted us in 1930. We are on the precipice of another great fall. And mind you, we are not out of the depression by a long leap. Please bear in mind that the N.R.A. has not brought recovery. There are still some twelve millions of unemployed and twenty-five millions on relief. The expenditures of billions will not get us out of the hole. At best, these drastic measures and huge expenditures will only stabilize poverty. And on top of all this, we are again confronted with the menace of wage cuts, longer work hours, decreased purchasing power, reduced production and more unemployment.

What can and what must we do? First, we must resist these attacks upon the prevailing poor standards. We must rally behind the forces of organized labor and help them fight. We can do an immensely

useful job in pumping fire, enthusiasm and inspiration into the ranks of organized labor. Instead of retreating we must encourage and aid them to advance.

We must back every effort to force the recognition of genuine trade unions and outlaw company unions. We must fight against the use of injunctions in labor disputes and against the use of militia and thugs in strike situations. We must battle for the recognition and legalization of a minimum American standard of living and wages. We must arouse a sentiment for the speedy introduction of the 6-hour day and the 30-hour week. We must work for more adequate unemployment insurance and old-age pension legislation. And most important, we must work for a constitutional amendment that will prevent the Supreme Court from annulling legislation of a social character. We must pound into that ancient document the fact that human rights come ahead of property rights and that no judge can insist that it is unconstitutional to help an underpaid worker to get a few dollars more per week. These are just a few things we must do right now.

And Looking Ahead

But all these necessary measures don't go far enough. They will not remove the basic cause of our economic calamity. What is needed is a new economic system that will balance production and consumption. Every worker must be provided with an

opportunity to work and he must receive enough wages in return to buy back his share of the product. This means that exploitation must end and production for profit abolished. It means further that the basic industries, to begin with, must be socialized and reorganized on the basis of economic planning. It means that all industrial competition, fair or unfair, must give way to coordinated cooperation. It also means that all chiselers, big or small, must be bounced out of ownership.

Surely, we are sufficiently supplied with technical skill to budget the needs of the people of this marvelously rich country and to gauge our productive equipment to meet these needs. Surely we could solve the problem of joblessness and the increasing need of relief by placing every worker in a job. We can certainly reduce the hours of labor for all by balancing the efficiency of industry with the actual amount of labor required. Only such an economic and social change can solve the problem of poverty and degeneration in the face of plenty and the potentialities to create still more.

No Blue Eagle will bring this mighty change. No progressive Democrat or Republican President will give it to us. This new system, call it Socialism or any other name, must be ushered in, managed and protected by the overwhelming mass of the people of this land, the workers in field, factory and mine. These people must be banded together in powerful trade unions, cooperatives and a political party.

In every sense of the name there must be a Labor Party made up mainly of organized workers and farmers. A real Labor Party, no matter how conservative at first, must be organized with the membership of the great International Unions of the A. F. of L. as its bed-rock. It will get allies from the farmers organizations and other mass groups. The Socialist Party will cheerfully merge its forces with this party and it will preserve its organization and identity only as an educational force to influence the trend of a Labor Party toward the goal of socialization and the end of classes and the class struggle.

Until this genuine Labor Party is born, the Socialist Party will carry on as the political expression of those Americans in common with their European brothers and sisters who work to lay the foundation of a national and international union of cooperative commonwealths, a federation of democratic workers' republics the whole world over. The Blue Eagle is dead! Long live a Workers' World!

Socialist Party

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AUGUST CLAESSENS

Instructor,

Rand School of Social Science

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CHAPTER ONE

"Socialism is a criticism of modern social conditions, a theory of social progress, an ideal of social organization, and a practical movement of the masses."

—MORRIS HILLQUIT

Criticism

ALL critics of the existing economic and social conditions are not necessarily Socialists. Nor does all criticism serve a useful purpose. Razzing a government, cursing the wealthy, denouncing grafting politicians seldom accomplish results. Their general effect is more often cynicism and futility.

On the other hand there is constructive and healthy criticism. If it is thorough in method, comprehensive in scope, and radical, that is, going down to the root of a social evil, such criticism is useful. A criticism that strikes at the source of a social iniquity and also suggests the remedy is healthy and constructive. Let us illustrate that contention.

Unemployment and Fool Criticism

Blaming it all upon a particular president and his administration is futile. Its logical conclusion is to oust the incompetents and elect a new crowd. History, however, shows depressions under all kinds of presidents, fat and lean, eloquent and silent, Republican, Democrat, and Progressive. Europe has the same sickness under monarchies, republics, and dictatorships.

Blaming it on prohibition ignores the fact that serious unemployment is with us in wet and dry seasons, in the arid United States and in moist Europe.

Blaming it on the tariff also leads us astray. Unemployment thrives under high tariff and low tariff, under tariff for revenue only, and under no tariff. Tariffs keep the other fellow's goods out of our markets and our goods out of his. Tariffs help the manufacturing capitalists and never the customers. If the workers were permitted to consume in proportion to their power to produce that would balance our economy — and unbalance the capitalist class.

Blaming it on immigration and over-population is also senseless. Unemployment exists in big countries and little ones. It flourished when our nation was young. We have had hard times in 1837, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907, 1914, 1921, and since 1929.

The Real Causes of Unemployment

The problem arises out of our complex and chaotic social system. More correctly it is the result of economic disorder, lack of system, control and planning. The minor factors in unemployment are illness and old age (the lack of adequate provision and insurance for same); child labor (its miserable compensation and displacement of adult labor); the increasing seasonal nature of all work; the introduction of machinery and improved methods of production; changes in styles and fashions; the Wall Street crash, widespread bankruptcy, and the unsettled economic and political conditions of Europe.

The primary factors, however, expose the main roots of the problem. Fundamentally the troublesome factor is our pernicious system of production for profit. We are not permitted to produce goods merely to satisfy our needs. We must provide tribute to our capitalists or else no machine shall move. Unless there is prosperity for them there will be no work or wages for us. And when we work the results are badly divided. The inequitable distribution of wealth creates the amazing spectacle of a small class of people with enormous purchasing power and limited consuming ability. On the other hand the great army of the rest of us has an extraordinary con-

suming ability and a pitifully inadequate income. Obviously, then, we must reorganize our economic system upon a collective basis. Production must be carried on to provide for our needs. Profit must be outlawed, economic competition abolished, and production must be planned and controlled. Then the machine must release man from drudgery and increase his leisure. Then must also follow that cheerful form of unemployment with an income—the kind which only capitalists enjoy today. The increasing seasonal nature of labor must not result in depriving workers of earnings during “off seasons”. We should not suffer amid plenty or the power to produce plenty.

Socialism is a criticism of modern social conditions, and it is also true that a thorough, searching, or scientific criticism of any modern social condition will inevitably lead to a Socialist conclusion. Further examples can be found in an analysis of the causes of poverty, slums, crime, war, etc. Socialism is the inescapable conclusion to capitalism itself.

(Suggested readings: “Present Day Socialism”, Morris Hillquit; “America’s Way Out”, Norman Thomas; “A Worker’s World”, David P. Berenberg; “The Case for Socialism”, Fred Henderson.)

CHAPTER TWO

A Theory of Social Progress

HISTORY is the record of human struggles, marches and retreats, victories and defeats, achievements and failures. History appears to some people as a chaotic scramble, an aimless ramble across ages. To others it seems that there may be some sense to it all and that history does indicate evolution and that social institutions do reveal growth, advancement, and improvement. Socialists are not pessimists and have little patience with the philosophical speculations as to whether there is such a thing as progress. They are satisfied that there is and they are anxious to improve its tempo.

Social progress is discerned in the history of human

advancement; in the evolution of social, political, and cultural institutions; in the shaping of tools and the perfection of industrial technique; in the attainment and utilization of leisure and in the accumulation of learning and the miracles of applied science.

Theories

There are many and varied theories concerning social progress. "What need and use is there for theories?" asks the so-called practical man. "Let us rather deal with facts!" But we cannot always deal with facts, they are not always handy. Theories are proxies for hard facts when the latter are absent. Theories are also useful in explaining, planning, and guiding. A knowledge of past civilization is indispensable for the understanding of the present. This information also helps us to know the nature and trend of social forces and enables us to see the outline of the next social system.

Among the theories of social progress the most ancient one is the theological—the theory that the gods direct the struggles of men and that the destiny of mankind is as fixed as the stars. This theory is supported more by faith than fact and finds no place in social science. Another popular notion is that great events and social advance are largely the work of great men. There is no need for denying the influence of great persons upon important events, but it appears to be much more true that a big event seldom fails in obtaining a great cast. Little men are often kicked upstairs by political crises and compromises. Furthermore, it is a rare occasion that does not inevitably produce its own heroes.

Just before the advent of modern Socialism an extreme popular and persuasive theory presented the doctrine that social progress was largely the result of great ideas and ideals. There is also unmistakable evidence of the potency of ideas, the force of opinion and power of propaganda. This, however, is but part of the story and the conclusion is on the wrong end. Ideas and ideals don't rain out of clouds—and they do not germinate in men's

minds unassisted. They are reflections cast out of an environment. An Eskimo has neither the culture nor urge for electrical inventions. Nomadic people built few cities and seafaring people have improved navigation and discovery. The idea of Socialism originated not in the head of some long awaited lover of justice as much as it sprang out of conditions that made such a program and vision possible.

Socialist Theory

Historic materialism, or as it is sometimes called, economic determinism, is not an all inclusive explanation of history. It is, however, a splendid guide to the understanding of social evolution and social behavior. It asserts that the most important elements influencing human progress are men's efforts and methods in obtaining a livelihood and the reactions of these activities upon them. Socialist theory contends that the prevailing economic system, that is, the method by which wealth is produced, distributed, and exchanged in a given period of history largely shapes the mode of life, the form of social organization, the institutions, behavior, ideas, and ideals of that age. Let us illustrate that theory.

A Brief Outline of History

Primitive man had a mean time getting a livelihood. He had few tools, knew nothing of agriculture and the domestication of animals. Hence he had little property and needed no lawyers, courts and jails. Because of his hardships in obtaining enough to eat there never were many of him at any one time in any one place. Through the improvement of weapons and tools, over a very long period, he eventually succeeded in filling his pantry and increasing the number of his holidays. With leisure came time for reflection, play and creative efforts. In time he came to learn to till the soil and tame the beast. By this time he discovered the odium of menial labor. There were then no newspapers to advertise in for the help wanted and no armies of unemployed and our early relative had

to go out and hire his help with a club. And so began slavery. With it came a property owning and ruling class, law and order, war and plunder, police and jails, churches and hell-fire for the wicked. Arose civilization! Came the wise men who explained all about superior and inferior races and how the latter were designed for slavery. Occasionally some slaves took French leave, some even revolted against their masters and ended their audacity in untimely death, while the great majority most probably thanked their household gods for what prosperity there was.

The great slave empires of ancient civilization grew, flourished, decayed, and passed out. For a while reigned chaos, plundering hordes and great adventure. The era ending, civilization again began to settle down. Came feudalism. In high perched castles and on country estates lived the lords of the land. Our crowd lived next to the hog sty. The big shots owned the land and it was our privilege to work it. In pay we got the short end of the produce or we got time off to hoe our own garden patch. While our gallant lords were feuding, crusading and troubadouring we serfs had to supply the rations. We also maintained a large army of priests and monks and in return received their blessings. Occasionally when things got a little too mean we got together a crowd of us and with pitch forks and axe handles we clouted our masters and their vassals. In these class struggles the serfs succeeded only a little better than the slaves. The odds were against them and communication was bad.

Came the eighteenth century, the use of coal and steam and the invention of machinery. Came navigation, immigration, commerce, and colonization. Came manufacturing, cities, tenements, and slums. Came more wealth, more food, more people, and more brains. Came science and political economy and with them questions relating to the divine rights of ruling classes. The capitalists became the new masters and through their ownership of the new machinery and opportunity for work, the toilers

soon suffered an exploitation infinitely more efficient and brutal than under former regimes. The bringing together of great masses of working people gave birth to movements for organization, education, and representation, and the printing press sowed the seeds of wild dreams. With improved transportation and communication the world became smaller and the workers in many countries began to swap notes and experiences. The dawn of international Socialism began to redden many horizons.

Conclusions

Thus the history of social progress relates the story of the conquest of nature by man, the enslavement of man by man, the invention of the machine, its ownership by the few and the exploitation of the many. The next step seems apparent. Production must be socialized, the instruments collectively owned and class exploitation ended. History also relates a long series of class struggles and in the ascending spiral one sees the abused and misused toilers gaining on their adversaries and the final conflict in the offing. It is also predicted and logical that when the working class achieves power and dispossesses its masters class struggles must end. Under the socialization of economic activities and with the inauguration of industrial democracy a new era will begin. And we believe it will be named Socialism.

(Readings: "Principles of Sociology", Edward A. Ross; "The Theory of the Leisure Class", Thorstein Veblen; "The History of Socialist Thought", Harry W. Laidler; "Outline of History", H. G. Wells.)

CHAPTER THREE

An Ideal of Social Organization

SO far we have described Socialism as a criticism of modern social conditions and as a theory of social progress. Another essential aspect of the subject is its spiritual phase and its ethical appeal.

Idealism

Realism is the acceptance of things as they are. Idealism is the vision or yearning for things as they should be. In popular opinion a realist is often considered as a sensible and practical person and the idealist, a visionary, a poet or just a plain darn fool. The fact of the matter is that every person is a realist and a bit of an idealist and the two attitudes may well inhabit the same head without causing a headache. A man may put up with a nuisance, especially if he must, and yet he may scheme to end the nuisance and dream of more pleasant conditions. Without idealism there is no motive in progress and no objective in planning.

Ideals spring out of realities. They are also the best evidence that man is a thinking and emotional creature and that he possesses potentialities of greatness and nobility. Break a beam of light through a prism or a spray of water and you get a rainbow, a splash of color and beauty. Let a sordid condition, an injustice or a state of human misery confront a sensitive mind or a sympathetic soul and an even more wonderful refraction is beheld. A condition of disorder stimulates and irritates the engineering mind and it invents order. A state of ugliness annoys an artistic sense and it creates beauty. Economic chaos and social distress challenge the social scientists and they strive to produce adjustments and changes.

Early Idealists

The early literature and bibles of many races have caught sparks of ancient idealism. Many an injustice brought forth an outcry, a denunciation and a vision of relief. Out of continuous warfare came the dream of lasting peace. Out of racial strife came the gospel of human brotherhood. Out of tribal dissensions arose nations. Out of despotism came the yearning for liberty. Out of unfair dealings came the Golden Rule. Out of a recognition of weakness sprang the concepts of unity and solidarity. Thus Moses proposed, Socrates argued, Plato schemed,

Christ proclaimed, Marcus Aurelius meditated and hundreds of other nameless ones contributed their emotional reactions and fine thoughts to the living stream of idealism.

*"Ah, Love! Could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits—and then
Re-mold it nearer to the Heart's Desire?"*

Omar Khayyam thus expresses a yearning that must have often found voice down through ages. It has been carried forward in ever increasing forcefulness in the writings of Campanella, Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, Rousseau, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Shelley, Robert Owen, Edward Bellamy, Robert Ingersoll, Peter Kropotkin, William Morris, H. G. Wells, Jack London and Upton Sinclair. These dreamers and many others have given to the world some of its most precious treasures.

Utopian Schemers

Idealism is not only a dreaming for a more desirable state of affairs, its great contribution to social progress is that it also spurs men to action and accomplishment. Early in the 19th century a number of social reformers appeared in England, France, Germany and America. Their reactions and ideas were as much a product of the new born capitalism as were commodities. These sensitive thinkers analyzed the results of the industrial revolution and they were critical. Vicious exploitation and pitiful poverty followed the wake of invention and increased production. Obviously, there was something fundamentally wrong. The early social rebels formulated schemes for relief. They challenged the wealthy, governing and cultured classes to accept their plans. Failing in this, many of these visionaries and their followers fled from civilization and established colonies in which the new social order was to be patterned and set forth as examples of the world to be. Robert Owen, Francois Fourier and Saint Simon were among this early group of idealists and they are known in history as Utopian Socialists. Although their

experiments came to naught, their pioneering zeal inspired others to proceed more effectively. It soon became obvious that the first great task was to arouse, educate and organize the toiling masses for their own emancipation.

Modern Socialism

This idea was born around the middle of the last century. Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Ferdinand Lassalle, and others proclaimed it with remarkable clarity. In their writings and speeches they gave to the working people of the world a genuine hope, a practical program, a basis for its realization, and an inspiring idealism. A clarion call was sent into all lands for an organized and disciplined movement of the masses. "Working men of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!" Workers were urged to organize their might for the conquest of political power and to school themselves for the administration of the new society they must usher into being. With advent of the Socialist philosophy and its rapidly spreading influence idealism took on a realistic aspect and descended from the clouds. Dreams of international peace, fair exchange, cooperation, industrial as well as political democracy, brotherhood and the end of class exploitation and distinctions were soon dissolved into possibilities and a great impetus was given to their realization.

(Readings: "The Communist Manifesto", Marx and Engels; "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific", Frederick Engels; "The History of Socialism in the United States", Morris Hillquit; "Socialist Fundamentals", David P. Berenberg.)

CHAPTER FOUR

A Practical Movement of the Masses

SOcialist criticism arouses a resentment against the continued existence of capitalism and refutes its defenders and apologists. The Socialist philosophy and

theory explain the evolution and nature of capitalist society and present a logical forecast of the next step in social progress. The Socialist ideal outlines the form and nature of the new social order and inspires the struggle to achieve it. These are the essentials of modern Socialism.

There is, however, one more important phase of the subject to be described and that is that Socialism is also a practical movement of the masses, a growing, powerful, and vigorous world-wide organization of working people. United by the same philosophy and objective and divided only as to function the Socialist Movement of the world advances along four fronts, namely, the political, the trade union, the cooperative, and the cultural.

The Political Movement

Working people in most countries had to fight for the franchise, the right to organize their own political parties and obtain representation in government. As soon as this right was gained Labor parties sprang into being. In every industrial country today there are Socialist or Labor parties. Their prime aim is to acquire full political power and through it to transfer the economic resources and equipment of the nation from private possession to collective ownership and control. Socialists the world over hope to achieve this transition with a minimum of violence and confusion and to that end they build well organized and disciplined political parties and advocate democratic means. Socialists are diametrically opposed to the Communist and Fascist programs and methods.

In the many countries wherein the Socialist Party is as yet the minority party it works for the immediate improvement of the condition of the laboring masses. Socialists do not believe that revolution is always inevitable in social distress. They proclaim that a well organized, conscious and intelligent mass movement is the best instrument for social change. Socialists demand and fight for social legislation not with the aim of perpetuating the present system. Their objective in this direction is to

achieve the following: the improvement of the economic, social and moral status of the great masses so that they may understand the necessity for still more fundamental changes, and by gaining the relatively lesser victories workers will become more conscious of their power and right to attain the ultimate goal—the Socialist commonwealth. Socialist Parties are much more than mere political parties. They are organizations with many and varied activities. In and out of campaigns they are always engaged in the work of propaganda and education and in the training of their members for administrative duties. The fine record of Socialists in municipal governments here and abroad is also an example of what they hope eventually to accomplish in national and international affairs.

The Trade Union Movement

In almost every industrial country, Socialists are the very substance and soul of the trade union movement. In many countries the Socialist and Labor Movements have grown up together and are composed of the same people. Generally, Socialists have furnished trade unions with philosophy, leadership and idealism. Socialists have done so because they well understand that no political party of labor can succeed without the membership and support of the trade unions.

In some countries, notably in the United States and Great Britain the two movements have not always been associated. Peculiar economic, social and traditional factors have kept them apart. In Great Britain, however, Socialists have admirably and successfully bridged the gap. In this country that task is yet to be done. As the Socialist Party grows in strength and influence it will render greater aid in the struggles of labor, assist trade unions in the education and inspiration of their membership and help them make for more efficiency, effectiveness and militancy. With the success of these endeavors the separation between the two movements must end.

Socialists believe that political and social democracy

can only mature on the basis of industrial democracy. The trade unions are effective weapons in the struggle for economic betterment under present conditions and in the transition from capitalism to socialism they are destined to become the principal factors in the management of the socialized industries. To that end Socialists work in and with the trade unions and help train, strengthen and inspire them for their revolutionary goal.

The Cooperative Movement

The cooperative movement has also grown up with and within the Socialist movement. In many countries their relationship is intimate and integral, in other lands it is less so. It is, however, a significant fact that the cooperative movement is large, successful and impressive wherever the Socialist and Labor movements are large and influential. The splendid demonstrations of successful cooperatives are living examples of the aims of Socialism. Within the hostile environment of our individualistic, profiteering and competitive society these experiments are truly remarkable achievements. Essentially, the objective of the cooperative movement is Socialism. Cooperatives are valuable and often indispensable aids in the class struggle. They are also good schools for the training of workers in the labor of administration. And most important is the fact that cooperatives are effective demonstrations that the production and distribution of necessities can be conducted without the profit motive and that working and sharing together is infinitely superior to working against and exploiting one another.

The Cultural Movement

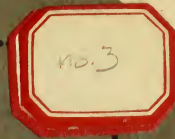
Since the birth of the modern Socialist movement, many of its leaders and followers have lent their fine energy and faith to the task of conditioning workers mentally and spiritually for the new social order. A better civilization must be built and controlled by a better mankind. A new ethics, a finer outlook, strong and healthy bodies and more refined minds must be developed. An intense

resentment must be aroused against war, cruelty, injustice, disorder and ugliness. A love of peace, justice, harmony and beauty must be inculcated in the masses. Culture must cease to be the affectation of the wealthy. It must be diffused among the toilers.

In many European countries there are large athletic and sport organizations purely non-professional and decidedly socialist in affiliation. Under socialist auspices there are also numerous musical, literary and artistic societies. They do much to bring joy into the drab lives of the workers. In the many municipalities governed by Socialists marvelous transformations have been effected in the homes and surroundings of workers that formerly were disgraceful slums.

Socialists are a tremendous force in working class education. They own hundreds of daily newspapers, periodicals and magazines. They own many publishing plants and issue huge quantities of books, pamphlets and leaflets. Socialists conduct training schools and innumerable forums and through them every aspect of social science and world culture is brought to the millions. The international Socialist movement is the greatest educational factor in modern civilization. Its influence has been so deep and widespread that every phase of modern life has been affected. The ultimate triumph of Socialism is inevitable.

(Readings: Concerning Socialist, political and educational activities, read the "New Leader", a Socialist weekly, 7 East 15th St., N. Y. City, and for other literature write to Socialist Party, National Office, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois, or New York City office, 7 East 15th Street. Concerning relations to Trade Unions, see "Your Unions, Your Future", James Oneal, and issues of American Labor Year Book. Concerning the Cooperative Movement write to "The Cooperative League of the U. S. A.", 167 West 12th Street, New York City.)



Is Socialism Inevitable?

By AUGUST CLAESSENS



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Is Socialism Inevitable?

**AN EXPLANATION OF THE
FORCES OF SOCIAL
PROGRESS**

August Claessens

Instructor at the Rand School of Social
Science, Member of the New York State
Assembly, Author of "The Logic
of Socialism" etc.

Published by the
Socialist Party of the United States
C H I C A G O

DEDICATED

*To my esteemed and beloved comrade,
Morris Hillquit, from whose lips I first
heard an intelligent and inspiring expla-
nation of the message of Socialism, at the
Rand School of Social Science during the
winter of 1909 and 1910.*

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Introductory Note.

One of the most difficult tasks of Socialist education is to make plain to workingmen and women the rich material of Social science. It is not an easy matter to translate scientific Socialism into simple terms and there is always the danger of losing something of accuracy in the attempt. For Socialism is a social science, in fact, **the** social science of our time. The capitalist world, however, cannot admit it to the sisterhood of sciences for the very good reason that it forecasts the end of capitalism itself.

In this little book one of our most popular and effective Socialist teachers and propagandists, August Claessens, has attempted to present the Socialist movement and its program in simple terms. I am glad to give this endorsement to the book. He has not only succeeded in giving a popular presentation, but his occasional shafts of wit have also relieved the booklet of any dullness which is not always easy to avoid in writing on serious subjects. It is a booklet that workers can understand and however critical many Socialists may be about their own literature, I am sure that even the most critical will accept it as an excellent popular statement of the Socialist cause.

There is a need for pamphlets of this kind and it is with the hope that this one will find its way into the hands of thousands of workers that I am writing this note of endorsement.

New York City,

James Oneal.

Chapter I

THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE

"Science," said Professor Huxley, "is organized common sense." The method of science consists in a painstaking gathering of information and careful reasoning, the classification and systemization of knowledge. The theories and conclusions of science furnish a source of enlightenment of the wonders surrounding us. The application of these theories and conclusions become the levers by which one burden after another is lifted from the backs of the struggling mass of mankind.

The Nineteenth Century was a hundred years of marvelous achievement in many fields of human endeavor. In the progress of science a vast region of darkness and mystery was exposed to common knowledge. Much of the phenomena and many of the problems that baffled the greatest minds for more than two thousand years were explained and solved by that constellation of brilliant intellects that illuminated the period of the last half of the Nineteenth Century.

The sciences of physics and chemistry leaped forward to wonderful discoveries and almost miraculous accomplishments in the service of human progress. The science of biology, the understanding of the nature and habits of living creatures, was practically born in the last century. Psychology, the science of mental processes, and sociology, the interpretation of the forces of social advancement, these sciences were also the outcome of the intellectual renaissance that accelerated the progress of human knowledge and thought during the prolific last one hundred years.

One of the most fruitful products of the marvelous Nineteenth Century was the science of Socialism. The great task before the people of the Twentieth Century is the application of the theories and truths of the science of socialism to the solution of our pressing economic and social problems. Out of

that achievement must arise a state of individual and social welfare that will exceed the dreams and predictions of the most imaginative Utopian writers.

To fully appreciate and understand the meaning of Socialism as a science we must first appreciate and understand the scientific marvels of capitalism and their promise to the coming civilization.

That Socialists never have anything good or kind to say about the capitalist system in the motion of many. This booklet will demonstrate the contrary. Socialists have a keen sense of appreciation for what is good, inspiring and prophetic in modern capitalism.

Capitalism is the mother of Socialism. Without the wonderful development of modern industry, its achievements and possibilities, the plans and predictions of Socialism for a more wonderful industrial and social future would be mere dream stuff.

Socialism predicts the elimination of poverty, destitution, unemployment, slums, preventable disease and human degradation; the reduction of the hours of toil to a much smaller number than now imaginable and the gratification of every reasonable human need to every member of the community; the emancipation of the race from the worries of economic insecurity and an equal opportunity for all to develop their latent talents and to enjoy the many delights and advantages which are now privileged only to the favored few. Socialism predicts the practical possibility of accomplishing all this.

"Upon what grounds do you Socialists build such inviting predictions? What facts have you for such alluring forecasts? Where is the wealth to come from to enable society to promise or guarantee such an earthy heaven?" asks our justly inquisitive and doubtful reader. In this booklet we shall present a collection of facts that must furnish food for thought and material for astonishing conclusions.

Firstly, consider the immensity of the process of production and distribution under modern capitalism. Consider the gigantic and complicated machinery, the fine gradations in the specialization of labor that results in the multiplication of one worker's ability to produce wealth. A fabulous quantity of goods is turned out in a ridiculously short space of time and with little human effort. To attempt to describe adequately the revolutionary accomplishments of modern industry would bankrupt a dictionary.

Visit any modern factory, the Ford Auto Plant, for example. Witness this human bee-hive in action. Tens of thousands of men work side by side, each performing his specialized task. Travelling belts conveying the material from one end of the plant to another rattle and hum the melody of hustle, hustle. Automatic hammers banging, travelling cranes swinging their tons of burden, trucks running from shop to shop with speed and dispatch. Here a huge tool is stationary, the work hugs and dances around it and thousands of fiery stars of steel fly in all directions. There again the work is stationary and the tool, a gnawing monster, rips and tears out huge slices of iron as though it were cheese. Out of this bedlam of moving, clattering, tearing, banging, ripping, pounding, crawling and flying organization of mechanisms and their swarming mass of human attendants one sees an endless chain of autos, chugging and smoking with their first gallons of gas in their bowels, emerge out of the womb of the plant.

To describe the "how" of industry is indeed a difficult task. But to explain the "why" of modern industry, its wondrous efficiency, its prodigious wealth of products and yet the soul destroying poverty of the toilers, to explain adequately that amazing condition transcends the understanding of most folks.

Specialized shoe-workers operating every conceivable device for the cutting, sewing, nailing and finishing of an abundance of shoes. This abundance clogs the warehouses and stores. Yet multitudes may trod the streets with decrepit footwear! Why?

Spindles spinning with a rapidity no human eye can follow. Looms clattering, patterns sliding and shuttles flying with but few workers attending, turn out miles and miles of cloth every hour. And yet millions of workers wear their shoddy to tatters and discomfort! Why?

In the garment industry the cutter of cloth cuts a hundred garments at one cutting with his power driven knife or saw; the power driven needles sew seams, buttonholes and all, and hundreds of garments flow out of the factory in the course of a day's work. Yet, the great mass of people suffer for the want of sufficient good clothing. Why? One could multiply these instances, and multiply the "whys."

Why, Oh, Why? That is the baffling question of our times. Want and poverty in the days when one man laboriously produced a single commodity can be explained. Man's limited productivity may have been insufficient to supply his growing needs. But that is surely not true today.

The miraculous output of our machine age has solved to a great degree the problem of producing enough goods to satisfy man's needs. Capitalism has applied science to the production and rapid transportation of the necessities of life to every corner of the earth. It has banished for all time the prime cause of famine and the primeval fear of want. And yet this famine and this fear persists amid the facts that belie their existence. Why?

Socialism gives the answer. The ignorantly selfish motives of the capitalists have limited the application of science to industry and society. The ingenious mechanisms and tremendous productivity operate and accrue to the benefit of the few. Mountains of wealth smother the producing masses and the decay of this assinine capitalist system (more correctly, lack of system) spreads the pestilence that must soon destroy it.

The pace of the production of goods has outstripped the

distribution and consumption of goods. The next step in the progress of civilization is not necessarily towards greater production but towards an immediate, a saner and a more equitable system of distribution.

Socialism is the science of distribution. Its mission is to apply science, system and order in the return to the producers of the prodigious wealth of modern industry. Under Socialism the object of production will be the satisfaction of the needs of life and the furtherance of the happiness of all the people.

Chapter II.

WHAT THE WORLD WAR TAUGHT US.

A number of remarkable illustrations can be drawn from the late war of the immensity of modern wealth production, and its promise to society, when reason, science and equity will be applied to its distribution.

Many facts relating to our economic status that seemed incredible and impossible before the outbreak of the war, were forcibly demonstrated by the war to the astonished world. The "Great Illusion" completely disillusioned many. Particularly disillusioned were those who pretended that a war embroiling all the great nations of the world would be such an expensive and disruptive experience that in a short time bankruptcy would be the only victor.

True, staggering debts are mortgaging the welfare of the people of many nations and their generations to come. But no one can truthfully say that this devastating conflict came to an end, after its four and a quarter years, because of the lack of finances, materials or the capacity to produce the munitions of war, and at the same time supply the needs of society. This was certainly not the case with the Allies. From the view point of modern industry's power to produce wealth and permit its whole destruction, this war might have lasted for a considerably longer period.

Let us take an illustration from the World War to illuminate the contention of Socialism, that the modern world has reached such a high stage of productivity that a saner method of distribution could easily establish a state of economic security and a more general social contentment to all its inhabitants.

We have been informed that the cost of the war to the United States was over \$32,000,000 a day.* Its total cost to this country was about 50 billion dollars in wealth alone, to say little of the loss of life, the disablement of hundreds of thousands of men, and the pension burdens that will continue into the distant future.

The British government has published statistics which show that their daily expense in the World War was over \$35,000,000 a day. Figuring that item over the period of four and a quarter years gives one a brain-wrecking total.

We have not as yet had any accurate estimate of the cost of the war to France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Turkey, the Dominions of the British Empire, Japan, Belgium, Portugal, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Nor is it known what was the indirect cost of the war to the neighboring neutrals that suffered so bitterly in the world catastrophe.

As a very conservative estimate, the staggering total of 200 million dollars a day lends assistance to our imagination of the wealthy consuming nature of the late international butchery. Two hundred million dollars a day! **

Part of this huge sum was spent in the destruction of steamships, railroads, bridges and highways. If in time of peace the nations of the world were to spend this money and energy for constructive purposes, what marvelous results and benefits could be attained!

* This was evidently too modest a figure. Will Irwin, in his book, "The Next War," states the total cost of the war to the United States as 22,625 millions. The World Almanac, 1922, says 50 billions.

** "The Next War" quotation is 240 millions a day! 10 million dollars an hour!

Consider some of the incidents of the war in which we learned that in shelling a bridge often a million or more dollars worth of explosives were hurled towards its destruction. The cost of destroying some of these bridges was surely many times their cost of building.

If all these nations would apply with the same zeal and efficiency this stupendous sum towards the CONSTRUCTION instead of the DESTRUCTION of steamships, railroads, bridges and highways we could in a period of four years progress a long way towards girdling the earth with the means of navigation and locomotion, span every stream, and run highways into the desert and jungle parts of the globe.

If some of these 200 millions a day would have been used in the construction of homes, public buildings, and plants of industry and trade, what wonders might have been accomplished! Having but part of the 200 millions a day at our disposal we could abolish every slum, eliminate every tenement and shack, tear down every architectural monstrosity, every relic of inartistic capitalism. We could reconstruct our cities, towns and villages according to plans of order, durability, comfort and beauty. The benefits of electricity, steam-heat, spaciousness and light, pleasing and healthful surroundings could be afforded to every soul.

Instead of such a joyful expenditure of wealth and energy, for more than four years a horribly different undertaking cursed the earth. To the accompaniment of 200 million dollars every twenty-four hours, a symphony of hate and blood-lust filled the day and night air with booming discharges, shrieking shells, rattling shrapnel and ear-splitting detonations. Tons and tons of T.N.T. and dynamite leveled cities, towns and villages; rent asunder huge structures; made ghastly ruins of comfortable homes and blew to atoms cherished treasures of the art of medieval times. Palaces as well as humble homes were pulverized into—dust that served to dry up the pools of blood that lay in the shell-ploughed

fields of Europe. Two hundred million dollars a day was the cost of this hideous pastime.

With 200 millions every twenty-four hours at the disposal of civilized mankind to enhance the comfort, happiness and cultural advancement of the race, what wonders might be accomplished. Every preventable disease could be eliminated, the pangs of hunger appeased, the fear of poverty and insecurity abolished, and the human mind could be freed of the worries that develop the baseness of human nature and cripple man's intentions toward the common good. The dreams of More, Bellamy and Morris are but feeble picturizations of what mankind would enjoy if it applied science and equity to its social life. And let us add, if it applied the enthusiasm, energy, sacrifice and prodigious expenditure of wealth in wartime, to the pursuit of peace and happiness.

Instead, for more than four years, 200 million dollars a day was spent for every devilish device, every bastard product of science, every art that human cunning could contrive for the maiming and killing of millions of fellow creatures. Hundreds of thousands of young men whose eyes had hardly learned to behold the beauties of nature and the arts of man were blighted by blindness. Millions had torn from their bodies the limbs that were yet to be trained in the work of producing the comforts of life. Millions of young men yet to love and be loved, who lived and were yet to have lived glorious lives were severed from their loved ones and from the roll of the living and were hurled into the abyss of the great Unknown. And think of it, all this anguish, pain and death was the finished product which cost the nations of the world over 200 millions dollars a day to produce!

"Dr. Mercher, a member of the French Academy of Medicine, after an extended investigation has determined that during a period of five months in 1917 a total of 3,090,000 shells fell on the front of the the three French armies.

"The shells, Dr. Mercher estimates, killed 13,265 men and wounded 55,412. According to his figures it took a total

of 395 shells to kill one man and half as many to wound one (New York "Times", April 23, 1920).

The total cost of war was about 186 Billions. ("The Next War") About 10 million men were killed. Figuring conservatively, the cost of killing a man amounted to over \$10,000.00, about enough to keep an average family in comfort for five years.

The world war taught us that more than 60 million men with 200 million dollars a day at their aid can consume four and a quarter years destroying each other and devastating city and country. It taught us the remaining portion of the human race staying at home can with the assistance of the marvels of modern industry produce not only sufficient wealth to supply their own needs, but can supply the huge munitions of war. And to cap the climax—create tens of thousands of new millionaires!

Shame to your ignorance, you doubting Thomas. You who hesitate to accept the prediction of Socialism that if science, system and equity were applied to the distribution of wealth, the spectre of want and poverty could be totally eliminated from the human race.

Why, even such a dullard as the editor of the New York Times wrote on August 8, 1918:

"Never has it been imagined, still less realized, how prodigious is the capacity for the creation of goods under modern methods of quantity production. If capitalists and workers had co-operated with equal zeal in times of peace, want might have been banished from the earth. The amazing production of the instruments of destruction, if devoted to meeting the demands of consumption would have produced a **divisible surplus of goods** comparable to the incredible cost of the war. It has been a misfortune with both present and future compensations. In the present it supplies the means through united effort to defeat the German conspiracy against

the world's freedom. How otherwise could Germany have been beaten? For **the future** it creates the hope that **the lesson now taught** will not be lost, and that through intensive work by capital, labor and machinery the burden may be **reduced sooner than has seemed probable**, and the **blessing of plenty** be attained as otherwise would not be possible.

"There is no leading country in the world where this is not true in general, and it is true of ourselves in particular."

(The bold face type is mine)

Leaving aside such delightfully humorous items as: "if capitalists and workers had to co-operated" "German conspiracy" "world's freedom" and intensive work by capital," one is forced to admit that the above quotation from the pen of the "Times" editor is truly a profound prediction made in an unusually careless moment.

Yes, "the lesson now taught will not be lost." Leave it to the Socialists. When we succeed, and we shall, in arousing the great masses to the marvelous opportunities that modern industry promises to all mankind, we will soon get the power to inaugurate a more resplendent chapter in the annals of the human race.

Chapter III.

ANOTHER LESSON FROM THE WORLD WAR

Socialism advances the ideal that man should work to live. Under capitalism man lives to work. And that is the only reason why we breed and keep horses. They also live to work.

Machinery, we are informed, is labor-saving. But, machinery seldom saves labor for working men or women. Very often it saves them from labor. It throws them out of a job. Machinery displaces labor and that is why our business men welcome its invention.

The contention of Socialism is that machinery, modern industry and efficiency should have an emancipating mission. The logical reason for the introduction of machinery, the specialization of labor and the application of efficiency methods to the production of goods should be rapidly to reduce the hours of toil.

As to the possibility of that attainment numerous economists have predicted that the hours of toil even under our present industrial system could be reduced to four hours a day. And some writers have gone further than that.

To prove how sanely conservative these seemingly wild predictions are, let us take another lesson from the World War.

The United States had over four million men in its army and navy during the war. These men were removed from productive labor and were forcibly and wilfully unemployed. They were taken from the fields, mines, railroads, factories, workshops, mercantile and commercial establishments. They were worse than unemployed because they not only ceased producing goods but were engaged in the deliberate and efficient work of destroying property and life.

It has been estimated by some economists that for every soldier, sailor and marine in the field of warfare, the labor of at least six workers was required to supply the needs of these warriors and to furnish them with munitions, the various and numerous weapons of destruction.

A good argument or illustration is often injured by overstatement and exaggeration. It is infinitely better, if you present a weighty fact, to reduce its proportions and humbly beg its consideration. Especially, if you take an illustration from the gigantic conflict that recently tortured Europe. Its proportions are so generous and its nature so immense that one can be sparing with its abundant material for illustration.

Let us, then, conservatively say that three persons were engaged in the work of supplying one fighting man with

munitions. That gives us a total of twelve million workers employed in the manufacture of munitions. Added to these twelve millions, the four million men under arms gives us a conservative total of sixteen million human beings taken out of the normal peace time process of production, and, to all practical purposes, deliberately unemployed for over a year and a half.

But then, the United States played, in this particular sense, a minor role in the World War. The lateness of our entry, the comparatively short time of our participation, and the small number of men in the field, makes the United States a rather weak example for the illustration we wish to present.

Consider the tremendous forces the great European nations had engaged in the late war, and their huge aggregations of munition workers. Consider also the fact that most of these nations were engaged throughout the four and a quarter years of the war. England, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary and Italy had each from five to eight million men under arms. Multiply this number with the vast army of munition workers of each of these nations and we get the conservative totals of from fifteen to twenty-four millions of workers that were divorced from wealth production.

To say that sixty million people in the belligerent nations alone were actively engaged in the great World War would be a very modest figure!

Here is an amazing bit of evidence of man's producing powers and the marvel of modern industry. At least sixty million working men and women can be eliminated from participation in labor on the farms and railroads, from the mines, factories, workshops, and mercantile establishments for a period of four and a quarter years. The sixty millions are wrested from the normal pursuits of labor and are hurled into the maws of war. For four and a quarter years they are solely occupied in the manufacture of munitions of war and in the use of these means towards the destruction of property and

the maiming and killing of their fellow men. Think of it, modern industry can spare sixty millions of its toilers for four and a quarter years for such a brutal and fatal vacation.

Those that were left behind were reserved for the operation of industry in the work of supplying the needs of the non-combatants. With the aid of modern industry, these people produced enough to maintain their own existence, and among them arose tens of thousands of new millionaires!

What more compelling evidence do you want to illustrate the prodigious productive capacity of modern industry and labor? What more effective plea can be made for a radical change in our industrial relations? What more imposing fact can be presented to demonstrate the immediate possibility of an immense reduction in the hours of toil for all the workers?

The Socialists have predicted that possibility for the last fifty years. Their numberless publications and speeches have called attention to the facts underlying their forecasts. And the war has exposed them as conservative visionaries and exceedingly modest prophets of a coming civilization.

Socialism proposes the abolition of the private ownership of modern industry. It demands the ending of our competitive economic struggle and the organization of all human effort upon a huge co-operative basis. It also proposes the elimination of the duplication of industry and the senseless waste of our each-for-himself economic system.

When these duplications are abolished, the waste of material and life is reduced and every able-bodied citizen is permitted to work, then the humane mission of machinery and modern efficiency can at last be achieved. That mission is rapidly to reduce the hours of drudgery and uninspiring toil to the absolute minimum required to satisfy the needs of society.

Unemployment shall then be an enjoyment instead of a

suffering. Man under Socialism will consume and enjoy his over-abundance of goods in peace and comfort.

Man will then work to live! Machinery shall have but one function to perform—the abolition of needless toil. It must ultimately become truly labor saving.

Man freed from the enslavement of supplying his elementary comforts will rise immeasurably above the animal status. His mental, cultural and spiritual life will then blossom into a glory that shall transcend his fondest dreams.

Chapter IV.

THE INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM

No intelligent and well-informed person doubts the possibility of ultimately abolishing economic insecurity and want. That is the program and object of Socialism. The bitterest critics of Socialism admit that poverty and destitution must soon cease to haunt civilized man. Herbert Spencer confessed the inevitability of Socialism even though he believed it a calamity and fought to retard its coming.

Besides the Socialists, numerous progressive economists and sociologists also proclaim that Socialism is inevitable. Their predictions are based upon substantial evidence gathered from readily observable sources of information.

The illustrations presented in the last chapters exhibited the facts that form the foundation of the possibility of the program of Socialism and the guarantee of the realization of its hopes. The evidence displayed by the marvels of modern industry and its prodigious output of wealth predicated a state of well-being considerably greater than now imaginable.

The crying need for a saner and more just method in the distribution of the wealth that modern ingenuity creates is vigorously forced upon the mind of every sensitive and

intelligent person. The contradictions in our social status, the extremes of affluence on the one hand and the wretched conditions of the masses on the other, is compelling proof of the requirement of a fundamental change in the distribution of wealth.

The conflict of these extremes in our present day phase of the class struggle is rapidly shaping its course towards a decisive ending. The great mass of the people, the workers, are becoming more conscious day by day of the unequal share of the good things of life that fall to their lot.

All these factors constitute the motive power that propels the movement towards the solution of our social mal-adjustments and demonstrates the inevitability of the coming change in social relations. Call it Socialism or any other name. It is coming. And no human power or agency can prevent its coming.

A knowledge of the forces of social evolution lends a more correct interpretation of the facts of the inevitability of Socialism and, moreover, it develops an understanding of the elements in social progress and the tendencies towards the coming change. In fact, we can learn still more vital information on this subject. We shall come to that matter in another chapter.

EVOLUTION.

By evolution is meant the forces that produce constant and progressive changes in both non-living and living things. The progress from simple to complex, from a lower to a higher state of existence is the outcome of evolutionary change. Let us simplify this a bit.

For example, take an egg (a fresh one, please). Chemically described, it is a comparatively simple combination. Its constituent parts are the albuminous matter, the yolk, nucleus, and shell. Under the process of incubation a wonderful change is effected. By gradual progress it evolves

from the simple combination of substances into that complex organism, the chick, a living creature of bone, muscle, flesh, skin, feathers and the compensating influence of a right and a left wing. An acorn developing into a massive oak is another illustration. Thus we can elucidate the definition of the term evolution, to mean the forces of constant, unfolding and progressive change; the movement from a lower to a higher stage and from a simple to a complex condition.

All nature is a manifestation of this constant and persistent power of evolution. Inanimate matter, plants and animals are all slaves to this power. Creatures of the plant and animal world are compelled to adapt, adjust or conform themselves to the changes in the various phases of environmental conflict brought about by evolution. If they disobey they cease to exist.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

The advent of man has altered the course of evolution considerably. Man is the one animal that has "monkeyed" with evolution. And because of his interference with the forces of evolution a new drama appeared upon the stage of life.

Instead of adapting and adjusting himself to the environment and its dictates man began to adapt and adjust the environment to suit his own tastes. The history of the human race from its separation from the animal kingdom up to its present complex status is the history of the struggle between man and nature for mastery.

Thus evolution has been imposed upon. Man has gained victory after victory. He has turned night into day, established himself in the most uninhabitable climes, navigated the mysteries of great oceans, conquered the air and defied the law of gravitation, harnessed the elements for his use and worried the soil of the earth into an ever greater and greater growth of abundance. By tampering with the omnipotent

power of evolution man has switched its course to his advantage.

The forces of evolution governing the growth and progress of the human race are more complicated than in the evolution of the plant and animal world. The evolution of mankind is therefore named "social evolution."

The forces of social evolution are twofold. They possess unconscious and conscious factors. In the following chapters we shall describe these factors in detail.

Chapter V.

THE UNCONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

"Man," writes Karl Marx, in his "Eighteenth Brumaire" of Louis Bonaparte, "makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand."

This is a lucid answer to the commonly debated questions as to whether man makes history, or does history make man? Does man influence and change his environment, or does the environment influence and change man? Marx replies that both of these influences are forces of social progress.

The unconscious factors in social evolution are the influence of the environment, the development of economic and social conditions towards higher and more complex forms of society.

The conscious factors are the will of man imposed upon the environment, his efforts in adapting the elements of nature to serve his desires and his power to accelerate economic and social changes.

The conscious factors are vital forces in social evolution and yet they are far from dominant. Contrary to the popularly accepted notion, man is still very much a slave to his surround-

ings. Economic conditions, social and political institutions are largely the outcome of the unconscious factors in social evolution. Great social changes arrive in spite of man's efforts to retard their coming. They are inevitable. Often their coming and their characteristics can be foretold with almost the correctness of the predictions of comets and eclipses. Thus Marx predicted and described the coming and the nature of the trusts and monopolies when capitalism was yet in its competitive stage. And thus, the confidence of the Socialists in the success of their program and ideals even though the powers of reaction, the hostility of the capitalist minority and the indifference of the working class majority seem such insurmountable obstacles.

Let us present a few examples to support these contentions and to illustrate the unconscious forces of social evolution. To begin with, let us examine the origin, development and the possible future of the great trusts and monopolies.

THE TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

The trusts and monopolies are not wholly the product of man's avariciousness or maliciousness. Their origin was rather humble and unpretentious. When capitalism was young competition was the rule and the "life of trade." But competition was disastrous to both the eliminated and the successful business men. The successful were greatly hampered by the meagre returns on their small investments.

Something had to be done. They formed partnerships and companies to save themselves from bankruptcy. But that did not help them much. What they needed was cheaper production and a greater volume of business to offset the rapidly diminishing rate of profits.

Then our youthful and enthusiastic capitalists started something the capitalist class will never finish. It will finish them. In their efforts to cheapen production and increase the volume of business they created a Frankenstein that soon got out of their control.

The early manufacturer had no machinery at his command. He began by introducing the sub-division of labor into industry. He soon learned that it was infinitely cheaper to get a number of unskilled workers singly to perform a simple operation than to hire a highly skilled and expensive laborer to perform an extremely complex piece of work all by himself. Thus, the long apprenticeship of the worker and the aristocracy of the master mechanics went into the dust bin of history.

Alone, however, the sub-division and specialization of labor was not a sufficiently large enough source of profit. There were entirely too many workers encumbering the workshop and gracing the payroll. To get rid of some or all of that crowd was now the next ambition of our "Thrifty, frugal, abstinent and industrious" young capitalist class.

They encouraged the invention of power-driven and labor-displacing devices. They got them with a rush that overwhelmed them. Each machine became more complicated and expensive than the previous one and the tools of production rapidly took on immense proportions and required vast aggregations of capital.

More business men had to get together. Stock corporations were formed. When the cost of machinery rose to prohibitive heights and the expansion of commerce entailed an enormous outlay of capital, competition died and the trusts were born.

Then came the awakening of the middle class, the cockroach capitalists. With a howl of rage they assailed these "soulless" combines of great wealth. Their cries attracted the politicians. The Jackass Party offered its hoofs to the fracas. Came the campaign slogans,—"Bust the Trusts!" "Back to the good old days of competition."

To appease the raving petty capitalist class, the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws were enacted. The Supreme Court handed the trusts a few mighty wallops. It smashed to smithereens

the arrogant "malefactors of great wealth," the Standard Oil and the American Tobacco trusts. The Meat Packers who eventually packed almost everything packable also went to the chopping block. Some other trusts were busted.

But even the blind could see that the trusts prospered by the busting. Though the worn was cut into a hundred pieces it still wiggled and preserved a spiritual (and financial) entity.

Then the Republican Party was appealed to, and the elephant lumbered to the rescue. "The trusts must be regulated," announced our statesmen. And regulated they were by commissions galore.

Goodness, gracious! The trusts grew corpulent on the fare of regulation. They expanded into monopolies. And the monopolies soon regulated the Government.

Whither are we going? "Forward!" says Socialism. The trusts and monopolies are excellent establishments in more than one particular. They have destroyed the waste of competition, reduced the duplication of equipment, encouraged the invention of huge "labor-saving" machinery which only the trusts and monopolies could have made possible with their mountains of capital. They developed the resources of the earth, created the marvels of modern industry and reduced the cost of production (not necessarily, the price of commodities) to an unbelievable figure. Yes, Socialism recognizes all this. In fact, one must be a Socialist to truly appreciate the significance of the trusts and monopolies.

Oh, certainly, the trusts and monopolies have brought much misery in their train. But of that we need not mention here. In this chapter we sing only of the goodness and the greatness of the trusts and the monopolies.. For it is particularly because of their goodness and greatness that they shall die.

Socialists are not obstructionists. They will not place a

brick in the path of progress or the evolution of industry. Says Socialism, "Let the trusts grow. Harm them not (If you can!) by fool legislation. Let them grow mighty. The trusts and monopolies will hasten the concentration of wealth into ever fewer hands. They will rapidly eliminate the troublesome and conceited small-fry pests and clear the ground for the final battle of the many against the few. Instead of the trusts and monopolies owning the nations of the world, let the nations of the world own the trusts and monopolies! Let society control their operation, the workers participate in their management and mankind benefit by their marvelous productivity and their energy saving devices."

Socialism looks upon the growth of the trusts and monopolies as a farmer looks upon a growing hog. "Eat, piggie, eat. Grow fat, grow ham, grow bacon," says the encouraging farmer. Finally the hog reaches his maximum growth. He has packed in all his skin will hold. "Stop," says the farmer, with a contented and benevolent smile. "Now I shall eat!"

Chapter VI

MORE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

CRUSHING THE "HUN."

Shortly after the outbreak of the late war the stupid portion of the capitalist class of the Allied nations saw what it believed was its great opportunity. For ever so long the capitalists had suffered by the ruinous competition of cheap German goods. The "Hun" had lead them in the merry chase for the world market. The results of German mechanical ingenuity and efficiency presented an insurmountable obstacle. German goods were rapidly displacing British, French and American goods in all parts of the world.

The "Hun" had to be crushed. His naval and military powers was, of course, a serious obstruction. As the war progressed, behind the firing lines there was inaugurated an avacious propaganda for the elimination of the use of German merchandise and the destruction of the influence of German competition. Not only the "Hun's" naval and military might had to go but also his unwelcome commercial power in the world struggle for profits.

During the war, an epoch making event transpired at one of London's fashionable hotels. A collection of monocled dignitaries were having a feast. One of the dining Lords, in a moment of intense scrutiny observed a German trade mark on the under side of his soup plate. Rising to his full Lordly height, the enraged Britisher announced his discovery to the astonished gathering. And as a means of adding emphasis and dramatic climax to his impassioned remarks the Lord flourished the soup plate over his head and dashed it to the floor. Every ape followed suit and hundreds of pieces of the hateful German crockery struck the floor with a crash. That crash was heard around the world!

Numerous busy-bodies dropped their war-work and started a movement to boycott and banish the "Hun's" products from our Allied midst. In this country the German toys were the first objects of martyrdom. Then their dyes, drugs and other wares were concentrated upon. The propaganda swept from land to land. German music, literature, language and goods, in a word, everything German, had to be crushed.

Came the end of the war. The "Hun" was crushed. The Allied powers had their mighty foot upon his prostrate body. The "Hun" was down and out. At least, it looked that way to many people.

"Now, Fritz" said our conquering Allies, 'you will have to pay, and pay dearly, for the damage you did.' Then the Allies began to figure the indemnity the "Hun" was to pay.

They are figuring yet. They will probably never cease figuring.

"Got in himmel," replied our stricken Fritz, "ich hab kein Geld!" He said he was broke. The war had vanquished the German armies and navy, their industries and finances. It had bankrupted them.

"Ah, that is true," said the Allies, "but you shall have to get the wherewithal to pay our indemnities. You must get on your feet again, Fritz, and make money." "Right you are," responded Fritz, "and you will have to help me." And the Allies did.

They loaned the Germans money, extended credits, furnished them with raw materials and thus unwillingly resurrected the hated German "efficiency."

Soon again, German industry began to turn out its flood of cheap wares. Now came the problem—what was to be done with these goods? Let the Germans consume all they produce? Well then, the German workmen must receive enough wages to buy back the products of their labor. Then there would be no surplus profit! Good God, that would mean Socialism!

"No, never!" shouted the Allies, "We must buy the surplus of Germany's production so that sufficient profits be left in the 'Hun's' hands to pay our indemnities."

And they did. The Allied buyers had their agents in Germany before the ink was dry on the armistice signatures.

German goods are again circulating around the world marts and the competition of these cheap wares is again the bane of our Allied profit-mongers.

As the old saying goes, "Man proposes but God disposes." Yea, man proposes but the uncontrollable forces of industrial evolution play the tune to which our fool capitalists must dance.

BOLSHEVIK ENTHUSIASM.

One more illustration of the power of the unconscious factors in social evolution is brought to our attention by the experiences of the Bolsheviki in Soviet Russia.

In the first rush of their remarkable revolution, the Bolsheviki were overwhelmed by their own enthusiasm. They were carried into power by their promise and slogan of "Land, Peace and Bread." They undoubtedly meant well and were absolutely sincere, but they were victims of circumstances which were difficult to clearly discern or evade.

In their efforts to solve the land question, the Bolsheviki were compelled to compromise with the peasants far beyond the ideal of the Socialist program. Instead of securing peace, they were forced to arouse the fighting spirit of the Russian people into supreme effort and mighty armies. At Brest-Litovsk they even offered to continue to fight the Germans if the Allies would come to their rescue. The first three years of their existence was one of constant warfare. And instead of obtaining bread, the Russian people have been and are suffering from the horrors of malnutrition, starvation and famine.

The Bolsheviki had announced the repudiation of war debts and the huge obligations in bonds and investments loaned to the Czarist crowd. The Bolsheviki have, however, since then, made a number of promises that they would meet these obligations if the Allies would but leave them in peace.

Though they promised the speedy socialization of all industrial enterprise, the Soviets have made overtures to foreign capital to come into Russia and Siberia. They have offered inviting and lucrative concessions.

But the Bolsheviki are sincere revolutionists. Beyond the shadow of a doubt they are striving with might and main to realize their goal and dreams. Their struggles and sacrifices are an inspiration to the workers in

many lands, and their achievements, a guide to the Socialist movement of the world.

Nevertheless, our Russian comrades are also in the grip of the forces of social evolution. "Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth," is true beyond contradiction. The relentless forces of economic, social and political conditions unconsciously shape the course of social progress.

Let the smug and self-satisfied capitalist class beware. They too, are not masters of their environment. The inherent effects of overgrowth and decay are becoming manifest in the bankruptcy of modern capitalism. In spite of themselves the destructive war has descended upon the prosperous nations and in spite of the struggle of the world capitalists toward reconstruction, the gangrene set in by the war is hastening the dissolution of the old order. The collapse is inevitable.

Chapter VII

THE CONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

The evidence of the inevitability of Socialism has a curious effect upon some sympathetic souls. "Why exert yourselves in obtaining something which is sure to come? Why work, sacrifice, and suffer persecution for a cause if its success is assured?" asks our lazy reformer. Even ardent revolutionists often lull themselves into a state of inactivity and sit around arguing and proclaiming that the capitalist system must collapse of its own weight and rottenness.

This is a serious misconception of social progress, because the inevitable has its own sweet way in coming. Numerous obstacles can be placed in its path. The capitalist class is intelligent and class-conscious enough to adapt and prop up its dying regime and prolong its misery.

In view of these facts it is imperative to fully understand the influence of the conscious factors in social evo-

lution. These factors are the effects of man's power to accelerate, guide and control the forces that produce social progress and cause society to evolve to ever higher forms.

INTERFERING WITH NATURE.

As we have previously stated, man has "monkeyed" with evolution. Instead of adapting himself to the environment he has adapted the environment to meet his desires.

At one time man, like other creatures, had to retire after sunset. One of the first great discoveries in his climb out of the animal kingdom, the anthropologists tell us, was man's discovery of fire. By means of rubbing dry sticks and later by the use of the flint, he kindled the warmth giving flame and the cheering light. Still later he discovered that fat would burn. It is hard to tell whose fat he first ignited. Then came the knowledge of the use of vegetable and mineral oils, gas and presently the dazzling light of electricity. The terrors of darkness are now abolished and man's power of illumination has eclipsed the feeble light of the stars and the moon.

Early civilization was confined to the tropical regions of the earth. Man's original coating was a poor protection against climates beyond this zone. The fig leaf costume was no doubt extremely comfortable as well as fashionable in the equatorial clime, but as he moved into the temperate and frigid zones (and he moved not always because he wished to, but for many reasons beyond his control) he found that he had to cover his body with warmth-giving materials.

He soon met the bear, or more probably the bear met him. What a lovely overcoat that bear had! Our greedy ancestor promptly coveted it. Undoubtedly the bears had many a gratuitous dinner before man acquired skill and art in relieving them of their furs.

The sheep had such comfort-giving wool. For countless years our primitive forefathers must have slaughtered the

sheep to get their wool. However, the progenitor of our present day capitalist soon arrived on the scene. He taught a more efficient art of shearing and how to keep the sheep alive and contented while being sheared.

The vegetables and fruits that nature first gave man were exceedingly spare and of poor quality. The life-giving grains, greens, vegetables and fruits of modern times are mostly the products of man's intelligent interference with nature. The growth of these foodstuffs is an inevitable process in nature. But nature has no sense, order or system. In a happy-go-lucky way she gives us her products and quality or quantity is largely a matter of chance.

Man applied his intelligence and rapidly improved upon nature. He broke up the soil, removed the stones and weeds, fertilized and watered the ground, and he made miles bloom where but acres had blossomed.

By the invention of hot-box and hot-house methods man advanced the season's growth when nature still held the earth in winter's grip. By grafting, pruning and cultivation man made a luscious fruit out of the miserable little crab apple that nature first handed him. Goodness only knows what a despicable little sour dud it must have been that led adam and Eve to their historic downfall. At least if it had been a "Pippin" or a "Winesap" we could more easily sympathize with that fated couple.

Nature is generous but thoughtless. She will give a thousand small fruit on a tree when a hundred good-sized ones would be more nourishing. Nature will waste energy and juice in producing an overabundance of leaves on a grape vine when grapes would be more desirable. But man soon fixed all that. He took advantage of nature's inevitable produce and trained it into channels of wonderful growth.

Through the science of cultivation, man developed the maximum growth and quality of nature's yield of edibles. He combatted the ravishing pests and diseases and nursed

the weakly plants into hardy growth. By experimentation he eliminated the poorest, selected from the best and created entirely new varieties.

Man has tamed and domesticated the beasts that were his associates in his primitive existence. He has compelled animals to carry him and his burdens in his wanderings over the earth. Instead of hunting them for his meat, he has corralled them close to home to conserve his energy and needs and developed many of them into serviceable creatures.

Out of the wild flowers of the fields and forests, he cultivated the beauteous domestic posies. Out of the skimpy wild rose, he made the gorgeous and vari-colored beauties. Out of the common Japanese field daisy, he created the resplendent chrysanthemum. The talents and genius of man transformed the jungle into the garden.

He has diverted rivers from their courses, bored holes through the mountain range and drove the waters through, created artificial lakes and dams, and by means of irrigation brought the moisture to the desert and "made it bloom like the rose."

The progress of evolution in nature is toward inevitable complexity and greatness. But man gets behind the inevitable and pushes. He speeds up, controls, guides and makes innovations. In a word, he revolutionizes his environment.

But why has he been so tardy in the changes of his social organization? Why has he permitted the evolution of society to progress in such a painfully slow pace? Why in the height of his glorious achievements is his social world still burdened with the fear of want and the misery of economic insecurity that cursed his primitive days?

Socialism gives the answer. Man has applied science to most everything but his social problems and existence. Society has developed along a haphazard path, and the few have seized advantage over the many. The next imperative step in the advancement of the human race is the application

of science and humane intelligence to the solution of our inexcusable and unjustifiable social chaos.

Man, the revolutionist, must revolutionize his social household. He must get behind the forces of social evolution and accelerate their progress towards the inevitable. That is in his power and it constitutes the conscious factors in social evolution.

Chapter VIII.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

This phrase appears with almost excessive frequency in Socialist propaganda. As plentiful as raisins in a holiday cake, the word revolution, dots the pages of numberless books, pamphlets and leaflets.

Most uninformed people are extremely sensitive to this word. Its sound immediately conjures up pictures of upheaval, destruction, fighting, bloodshed and dire suffering. The only excuse, however, for such a horrified state of mind is the ignorance of these people of the meaning of revolution as an element in social progress.

REVOLUTION.

There are many kinds of revolutions and most of them are perfectly peaceable. Anything in a process of revolving makes revolutions. A fly-wheel makes many revolutions a minute. No violence or upheaval there, eh? The wind carrying off your hat drives it spinning down the street. The hat makes many revolutions and likewise produces no fighting or bloodshed—unless some one maliciously steps on it! Violence is oftimes a mere accident in revolutions.

Some of the definitions the dictionaries give for the word "revolution" are: a fundamental change; a basic transformation. It is in this sense that students of social progress understand and use the word.

We read of a revolution in ideas, philosophy, science or

art. What is meant is that profound and fundamental changes have been effected in these domains of human thought. Surely no violence has been done there.

One of the world's greatest events occurred in the 18th and in the early part of the 19th centuries. It is commonly referred to as the "Industrial Revolution." This term intends to convey the fact that the change from the handicraft to the machine method in production, the transformation of industry brought about by the discovery of the power of steam and its application to the great inventions that shortly after arrived on the scene, fundamentally changed the whole structure of society.

The Industrial Revolution basically changed the method of wealth production, the nature of commerce, the economic activities of civilized mankind, the social relations and conditions in society, the political structure of modern nations and the ideas and outlook of the great mass of people. And yet, very little disorder or bloodshed accompanied this thorough and wonderful revolution.

We also speak of political revolutions, meaning thereby fundamental changes in the forms of governments. A change from a monarchy to a republic or vice-versa is generally a political revolution. The struggles for separations or independence on the part of subject peoples may also be described as revolutionary.

True, such revolutions are usually violent because of the tenacious hold the ruling classes maintain in their regime and their ruthlessness toward the subject peoples. Nevertheless even these revolts are sometimes comparatively peaceful events.

The early capitalist class having wrested the powers of state from the possession of the feudal lords attained its success violently in some countries and peaceably in others.

Socialism does not advocate a political revolution unless an absolute autocracy in a nation denies the great masses of

the people the means by which peaceful and orderly changes can be made. In all governments of the world where the right of suffrage, industrial and co-operative organization of the working class is established, the Socialists use every peaceful and legal means to attain their aims. The revolution that Socialism proposes is far more fundamental than a mere change in the form of a government.

Let it then be carefully understood, Socialism does not propound the need of any further industrial revolution. The evolution of industry and the multiplicity of inventions is taking care of that. Nor does Socialism specifically call for a revolution in philosophy, morals, science, art or in the institutions and political structure of modern nations. Socialism demands a social revolution and out of its success must come a fundamental change in the entire structure of society and the lives of the people.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The foundation upon which our present form of society rests is the private ownership of the instruments by which wealth is produced, transported and exchanged. These instruments constitute the basis of capitalist society and enable their owners to take advantage of the needs of the people. The owners of large land holdings, natural resources, mills, warehouses, mines, railroads, steamships, factories and mercantile establishments, own the jobs and opportunities upon which the great masses depend for their livelihood. The private ownership of these social utilities furnishes a powerful means by which one class exploits another and accumulates great wealth. Human society is thus torn by social strife and its structure is reared upon an anti-social foundation. Class divisions naturally develop; on the one hand a dominant or ruling class; on the other, a servile or ruled class. The state and its institutions, the press and the pulpit, become either consciously or unconsciously the servants of the dominant economic class, the ruling class. The moral

concepts and standards, the intellectual outlook of society, the opinions and ideals of the masses are generally the reflex of the mode of wealth production and distribution, and thus a radical change in this mode or economic basis must radically change the moral and intellectual life of society.

The Socialist objective is the basis of capitalist society. The ultimate aim of the program of Socialism is the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Socialism demands the social ownership of all things socially necessary and thereby seeks to conclusively end the possibility of any group in society taking advantage of the needs of another. Exploitation being abolished an equality of opportunity must eventually follow as an established order and class divisions must disappear with the economic conditions that gave them birth. Out of the ending of class conflicts must develop the beginning of a decidedly pro-social state of civilization. The state and its institutions rescued from the control of the dominant economic class must be transformed into organs of administration and service to the whole people and the principle of democracy must be applied to the management and control of the industries of the land. The educational institutions, the press and the pulpit no longer catering to class interests must reflect the moral concepts, the ideas and ideals of the co-operative and pro-social order of civilization.

This is the Social Revolution, the aim and object of the Socialist movement of the world. Socialists will cease their agitation and propaganda only when this goal is reached.

"But" cries our ever ready critic, "a revolution of such proportions cannot be achieved without violence." Socialism replies, "Don't be so sure. No man can positively foresee the outcome of future events. Social as well as political changes have come and can come without violence." Writes Morris Hillquit, "As a matter of fact, street fights do not make a

social revolution any more than fire-crackers make the Fourth of July.*)

The entire work of the Socialist movement is toward the education, preparation and organization of the masses for the orderly conquest of the powers of the State so that society may pass through the transition from Capitalism to Socialism with the least possible disorder, destruction of property or loss of life.

Violence, however, may be instigated by forces over which the Socialists have no control. Says George R. Kirkpatrick, "Revolutions are seldom noisy or bloody unless the ruling class impudently stands in the path of progress and commands, Halt!" This is the one great source of violence in social changes. The advocates of great social changes in the past, have usually been as the Socialists are—apostles of peace and opponents of bloodshed and suffering.

The Social Revolution may be likened unto a locomotive which is an exceedingly progressive mechanism and perfectly harmless except to a jackass that will stand on the tracks.

(This illustration was the object of a painfully minute analysis by the attorneys for the Assembly in the trial of the five expelled Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, New York, during the Legislature of 1920. The learned and expensive counsel tried by induction, deduction and elaboration to divine the supposedly secret and mysterious meaning of the parable of the Locomotive and the Jackass. How deliciously naive was the whole performance. Little did the worthy counsel of the political cousin of that noble animal realize that the whole scene of that trial illuminated the parable. Only this particular breed magnified the nearness of the locomotive, brayed and brandished his menacing hind-hoofs in a gesture of defiance towards the on-coming forces of the inevitable.)

* See chapters "The Trend of Social Development" and "The Methods of Socialism" in Morris Hillquit's "Present Day Socialism".

Chapter IX.

THE MIDWIFE OF PROGRESS

"Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." Thus Marx describes the power of man in hastening and assisting the evolution of society through the transition from an old order into the birth of a new one. This is the revolutionary process and those that are engaged in the culmination of such a process are correctly named revolutionists.

The term "force" does not necessarily imply the use of violence. Marx clearly qualifies this in the same paragraph from which the above quotation is taken, in the 31st chapter of the first volume of "Capital," where he refers to "The power of the State," as "the concentrated and organized 'force' of society."

That Capitalism is heavy with the developing of a new order of society is clearly visible. In some lands the agony and labor pains are distinctly audible. In other countries the gestation is somewhat retarded. But every capitalist nation bears witness of the bankruptcy of the old social order, the helplessness of their statesmen to prop up the crumbling structure and the widespread disorder that is causing financial disturbances, unemployment, destitution and crime. All these are portentous facts. The war has shaken capitalism from its foundations and has hastened its collapse. It is clearly evident that the midwife is needed!

Of course, a midwife is not absolutely necessary. Very often she arrives on the scene too late. But in an enlightened society she (or he) is indispensable. There should be no trusting to luck. A mishap can occur. A still-birth may issue.

Russia was a vivid illustration of that fact. The war tumbled the mighty edifice of Imperial Russia, the gigantic power of the Romanoffs, into irreparable ruin. The social

and political conditions in Russia were ripe, yea overripe, for a fundamentally new regime. The efficient midwife was a little late in arriving and the ignorant, though kindly and well intentioned neighbors dropped in to lend a hand. The child was born and its delicate infantile life was seriously jeopardized by the bungling care and nourishment its hesitating foster-parents gave it. Then arrived our Bolshevik midwife. Some of her expert aides had a long journey to make, but they arrived in the nick of time. More than four years of that infant's most critical period are safely passed and the "summer-complaints" are seemingly over. Whether or not the baby dies on their hands remains to be seen. The political revolution belonging to past history, the years now ensuing must be devoted to the laborious and painstaking task of completing the Social Revolution in Russia.

From the facts at hand one can safely assume that the Social Revolution in Hungary, Germany, Austria, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia suffered a miscarriage. However, there is no cause for despair. Capitalism in these nations is far from barren. In due time a legitimate offspring must arrive and the proper midwife and nurse will not be lacking.

PREPAREDNESS.

The Socialist movement is the midwife of the Social Revolution. Its political expression in this country is the Socialist Party. It strives to obtain the consent of the majority of the people to transfer the powers of the State into the control of the progressive portion of the working class to accelerate and guide the inherent forces of development in the present system, through the transition to Socialism. This is the urgent appeal of the Socialist Party to the working class in particular, who are most vitally concerned, and to the rest of the public in general, who must ultimately benefit by the change.

Intelligently class-conscious labor organizations, combined in a federation of industrial unions, are another indis-

pensable wing of the Socialist movement. Without them, their power and influence, a purely political victory can easily be an abortion. The industrial union must educate and prepare the workers for the operation and management of the industries in the interests of all society.

The Co-operative movement, likewise, renders invaluable aid in the rehearsal of the cast that will play the leading roles in the next act of the world drama. So that the Social Revolution will not be a tragedy, the working-class must prepare with speed and dispatch!

No disorganization of our forces or hesitation on the part of our leadership should be tolerated. The determination that springs from the courage of conviction must steel us for the task ahead. The knowledge of the righteousness of our cause, the forces that are unconsciously developing our way and the inevitable character of the coming society must cheer us on to our duty.

Wake up, fellow workers! Yours is the mission to inaugurate the next social order! In the inspiring message of Marx and Engels, go forward. "You have nothing to lose but your chains, and you have a whole world to gain."



The Crying Need of the Day

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

Need I say to my comrades that the crying need of the day is **ORGANIZATION**?

The war almost destroyed the Socialist party in the United States. That is one of the chief aims and inevitable effects of modern wars.

The party survived, but it was shaken to its foundations and stripped clean of everything that could not resist the shock. The test was a crucial one and the membership, though shattered, was purified and strengthened. The real revolutionary comrades stood true and saved the party, and now they have to rebuild it on a secure foundation and more powerfully and staunchly than before.

And this is now the crying duty of the hour!

Will you take hold **now**, and stick to the job, and do your part?

I appeal to you!

Attend the meeting of your local and plead the urgency of **Organization**!

If your local is weak, build it up and thereby help build the needed **Organization**!

If your local went down in the cyclone, rebuild it as another unit in the party **Organization**!

Build up the local, build up the state, build up the national party organization!

We should have a hundred thousand members again soon after the sun of the new year lights the world.

Take hold, comrades; I appeal to you, in the name of our beloved cause!

Take hold because you are a socialist, and know your duty, and have the will and energy to perform it.

Do it and do it now!

Ours is the liberating movement of the ages.

It is consecrated to the cause of the oppressed.

It bears the scars of a thousand defeats but it grows stronger and braver and more invincible through them all, and it will never lay down the weapons of its peace-loving crusade, never cease its holy war until its triumph is complete and sets the whole world free!

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SOCIALIST PARTY

This Department is maintained by the workers of America for the sole purpose of enlightening the masses. Co-operation in education and organization will bring complete industrial and political freedom.

The important phases of the struggle of the workers throughout the world for supremacy will be covered by this Department through leaflets and pamphlets. The literature of the National office is selected for the prime purpose of educating and organizing the workers of America to the point where they will intelligently end the vicious system of exploitation that keeps seventy-five per cent of the American people engaged in a bitter struggle for mere existence.

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220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

THE LOGIC OF SOCIALISM

14

By
AUGUST CLAESSENS

14

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FOREWORD

THIS booklet was written in response to the many requests made by my students and sympathetic listeners attending my classes and lectures. It contains a series of articles illustrating certain phases of our economic and social system and its glaring contradictions.

In no sense should these articles be considered an addition to the multitudinous well written and scholarly works on Socialism. Rather do I hope my attempt herein to simplify the truths of the Socialist philosophy and program will in some degree meet the need of reaching the average mind.

In dedicating this little work to my comrade and wife, Hilda G. Claessens, I merely give expression to the fact that without her painstaking help my efforts both in speech and in writing would have fallen far short of the success attained.

AUGUST CLAESSENS.

*Robert + Lillian
Feb 30 Apr 47 Fausch*

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LOGIC

"Logic teaches us to reason well," writes Prof. W. S. Jevons. To reason well is to reason carefully, and to reason carefully is to reason scientifically. One of the serious obstacles to the acceleration of social progress is the neglect on the part of most people to exercise the brains they were born with. Whether it possesses great or limited capacity the average mind is capable of immense improvement through constant and careful use.

The first rule in proper thinking is to obtain the facts. After carefully ascertaining whether the facts in the case are truly facts, one should pick them to pieces in painstaking analysis and learn their relationship to other facts. A careful analysis of the facts in a problem leads one to understand its origin and causes. And a knowledge of the causes of a problem generally suggests the way of its solution. But first and foremost get the facts and then draw your own conclusions.

Books, articles and lectures should never be permitted to do the thinking for you. They should only furnish the facts and guide you to proper conclusions. Train your head to behave as your stomach behaves. What wonderful sense a stomach displays! No human stomach will retain food that some other fellow has digested. It would immediately vomit such a fare out of its territory with speed and dispatch. Our brains are less discriminating and tasteful in absorbing their food. The average man's mind has as little sense of selection as a garbage can.

The plague of our age is not illiteracy but the literacy of the masses. It enables their lazy minds to obtain with little effort the pre-digested knowledge and conclusions of our writers, editors and speakers. This is evidently the fact Buckle had in mind when he complained that the invention of the printing press and the increasing ability to read brought with it a greater general ignorance.

We must, however, take conditions as we find them and make the best use of our opportunities. The ability to read must be trained to read carefully. And we must reason well in matters that concern our every day life and well being.

The logic of Socialism is the product of a well reasoned understanding of cause and effect in present day economic and social problems. That is why it is generally so difficult for the opponents of Socialism to get the best of the argument.

The logic of Socialism is the torch that illuminates the hopes of ever increasing millions of toilers the world over and the path to a more civilized society.

Jevons, concluding the thought and the sentence, writes: "and reasoning well gives us knowledge, and knowledge, as Lord Bacon said, is power."

THE POWER OF KNOWLEDGE

The subjugation of multitudes by the power of tyrants is the story of the history of the ancient and medieval worlds. The tyrants were always few and the people many. And the few wielded the scourge over the many.

That amazing spectacle is still with us in these modern times. Great millions of working people of this and most other "civilized" nations are held in subjection by a comparatively small class.

The masses are driven into wage slavery, kept in continuous hand to mouth struggle for an existence and are robbed of the best fruits of their labor. And the pity of it all is that the workers seem to be held in a spell of satisfaction and contentment with their abject lot.

Surely, this astonishing state of affairs must have often appealed to the reader's understanding and demanded an explanation.

In numbers the workers are mighty. In numbers lies their great strength. In numbers the exploiters and tormentors are weak. In numbers the wealthy are powerless and easily overwhelmed.

In numbers the workingclass is the "whole cheese." But in the knowledge of their power, in the consciousness of their might, in the intelligence of their right, they are the hole in the cheese.

The capitalists and profiteers are so few in numbers in contrast to the great mass of the toilers. But while the slave drivers are few and weak in numbers, their great strength lies in their possession of knowledge and intelligence. Not that they always personally possess these talents. No, great Gods, no! But their money, their lucre, their thirty pieces of silver buys almost everything including brains. Not every brain, thanks to our luck, but many brains surely. They purchase the talents of writers, editors, educators, speakers and preachers. They own the great newspapers and periodicals. Through these they own the forces that mold public opinion. In fact they manufacture the opinion for the public. The capitalist and ruling classes purchase every mental prostitute on the market. Cheap or expensive, they buy all of them. And why? Because the usurpers of wealth realize the power of knowledge; the influence of intelligence. They KNOW that knowledge is power, and power is might, and might makes right.

For an illustration, look at the elephant in the circus. See how that monstrous animal is led into the ring and made to perform his tricks. A puny insect of a man masters this mountain of bone, muscle and flesh. What an amazing spectacle! With one sweep of his trunk the elephant could fling his tormentor into oblivion. One stamp of his great foot would squash his trainer into pulp. The brute needs but to roll over on his subjector and only a grease spot would remain of the departed. But this colossus is harassed, bulldozed and tamed like a docile poodle. What an astonishing sight!

What is the difference between the man and the elephant? What is the determining and decisive factor? Is it bulk and weight? Surely not. Is it strength? Decidedly no. It is brains, knowledge and intelligence. And now look back, reflect, on the position of the wage workers and their subjugation to the possessing classes. The elephant is helpless. Nature limited him in intellectual capacity. But are the workers in like condition?

Generally speaking, what is good tactic for the bosses is good for the slaves. No greater teacher is there than example. The first thing the workers must obtain is knowledge; knowledge of their weakness and subjection; knowledge of their latent strength; knowledge of their power and duty to end the class conflict and the existence of class divisions; knowledge of the truth and the justice of the demand, that wealth and the enjoyment thereof belongs to the producers and to them only.

Not only power but an intelligent use of it, is the prime need of the workers. Efficiently organized political, industrial and co-operative movements breed a consciousness of their great power. In a word, class consciousness. When the laboring classes obtain this knowledge they will have power. And with power will come might. And might makes right.

Verily, the day must come when right will make might. Unfortunately that day is yet in the distant future. In our present day world, might still makes right. Consequently the working class **MUST** secure **MIGHT**. And when they have might they can make things right.

WHO'S CRAZY?

Now let us take a few examples of our illogical social environment and analyse them in the light of the logic of Socialism. To begin with: who's crazy?

A popular pastime among "Smart Alecks" is to show their attitude towards Socialists by the suggestion that they

are insane. A rotary movement of the forefinger by the side of the head is the significant description. Socialists are bugs, nuts, etc. As an argument this signalling is very conclusive to the average ignoramus.

Probably the inference that Socialists are crazy is not so insulting after all. Let us see. Maybe it's the reflection of our "sane" social system. Take for an example an insane asylum. Consider the status and welfare of its inmates with those of the outside world. Did you ever hear of an inmate of an insane asylum worrying about the high cost of living? The sane folks on the outside fret and suffer in that nerve-wrecking pursuit. Are lunatics and imbeciles robbed by landlords, gouged by heaven-soaring rents, plagued by the constant fear of dispossession and the hunting for new quarters? No—not lunatics and imbeciles! These are the problems and agonies of the sane. Are the mentally deranged troubled with the fear of losing a job or getting fired? No, Aleck, such worries are the property of the mentally sound only. And who ever heard of a lunatic in an asylum hunting for a job? Why, such a display of sanity would lead to his immediate discharge. It would be absolute evidence that he is cured. He would belong to the outside.

And yet observe the antics of the sane in periods of unemployment so frequent under our "sane and orderly" capitalist system. In times of panic and industrial depression hundreds of thousands and often millions of workers straggle from factory gate to factory gate vainly hunting for work. Driven by the lash of hunger, haunted by the spectacle of household effects piled upon the sidewalk, wife and children huddled alongside and rain, or snow and sleet spreading ruin and illness upon them. Often a worker's mind gives way under such a fearful strain and society at last takes recognition of him. He is crazy now. His personal problem in the struggle for existence is solved. Away with him to the asylum! There he finds a haven of rest, comfort and security. The surroundings and companionship are far from cheerful, truly, but many of his troubles

are over. No more worry over the increasing cost of living. No more landlords, high rents and dispossession. No more danger of being fired, locked out or on strike. No more roaming the streets looking for a job, and like a hungry wolf fighting the pack for a morsel of food. The asylum doors slamming behind him shuts out all that crazy world and flings him among its frightful products. But here at least, better than he had, is rest, comfort and plenty.

Mr. Smart Aleck never considers these facts. He does not see the insanity of our industrial system. On the one hand abundance is created and on the other a pitiful struggle for a bare existence is the reward for its creators. "Produce more! Produce more!" cry the capitalists. And then, after the workers have labored hard and produced more, the capitalists say: "Now quit, we have too much stock on hand. You are laid off. We will send for you when we need you again." Then go home and break the news to your family. Begin again the chase for a job. Hate the poor sucker who gets one before you. Worry and starve until your wits give way.

If the folks on the outside of the asylum were as sure of their food, clothing and shelter, as secure in struggle for existence, as those within the asylum, there surely would be fewer inmates and fewer asylums on earth.

To dream, talk, and work for a system of society, wherein the industries of the land would be the collective property of the people; wherein every able-bodied adult would be obligated to work; wherein the hours of toil would be regulated by the total amount of produce needed to maintain the health, comfort, and happiness of the whole people; and wherein our forces of production and distribution would be systematized on the order of social justice and equity—the ushering in of the Socialist system of co-operation and the full value as the reward of toil—such an ideal and program is the insanity our Aleck derides.

Who's crazy? Well, if the Socialist is, then he is a compliment to our wonderfully "sane" world. And smart Aleck seems to stand the strain with immunity.

But, fellow workers, let him laugh, ridicule, deride, and make his "funny" remarks. The sooner the world catches our "insanity" the sooner will it recover from its nightmare of contradictions.

SANITY AND SANITARIUMS

Let us follow the evidence of our social "sanity" into another instructive field.

Have you ever noticed what a cheerful, restful and beautiful place the average tuberculosis sanitarium is? As a rule it is situated in the mountainous country. The dry air, clean of smoke, dust, gases, and putrid odors, is sweetened and invigorated with fragrance of pine, balsam, and wild flowers. Rest and plenty of life's needs and comfort is secured to the patient. Much of his pain is relieved by the charm of rolling hillsides, motley carpeted valleys, and cool and inviting woodlands.

A splendid vacation awaits you, fellow workers. Most every one of you has an opportunity. But your passport, your railroad ticket, your card of admission must be conclusive evidence of your possession of tuberculosis! Were it not a horrible tragedy one would be tempted to entitle this detail of our crazy social system a satirical comedy, wherein grim humor stalks leaving gory foot tracks across the stage of life.

What is consumption? The medical fraternity calls it a germ disease. Multitudes of tuberculosis germs reside in the bodies of all of us but thanks to fortunate circumstances, luck, or our able powers of resistance, most of us escape the scourges of the white plague. The encouraging and helpful friends of this dreaded malady, we are informed, are fourfold: namely, impure air; under nourishment; overwork, and too much worry.

Notice, kind reader, these conditions are all neighbors of the working class. Declare your solidarity with these

foes of good health and an industrious union of tuberculosis germs will expropriate your lungs. And once you catch consumption, away with you to the mountains! Now you are an object of social attention and responsibility.

Now society recognizes you, though it never before seemed to know or care whether you ever existed nor how. The conditions surrounding you that breed consumption are ignored by most people in our "safe and sane" order of modern civilization. But as soon as the disease wrestles with your existence, society frantically strives to rescue you from its strangle hold. Lucky fellow, you are hurried away to the luxury of a health resort up in the mountains, amid forests and lakes, and (the irony of it all) often close to the haunts of the wealthy.

And the cure! How ludicrously simple! Medicinal and surgical arts play a minor role in the treatment. The cure is effected (if you are not too far gone) by the simple application of common sense and nature's demands. Good air, plenty of sunshine, no over-exertion, good food, and a little to worry about, all these are the ingredients of the prescription. But, you poor fish, if you had had these things before you caught consumption you would have probably never got it.

Sanity and Sanitariums are an inconsistent combination. If sanity would prevail as the normal social consciousness, sanitariums would lose their prominence. Tuberculosis, like typhus, malaria, smallpox and many other diseases, are not due to individual negligence as much as they are products of social short-sightedness.

Socialism is the doctrine of social responsibility. The application of common sense to social problems would eliminate much unnecessary suffering and preventable disease. An awakened and classless society substituting the principle of co-operation for the present system of competition and profiteering, must establish a state of social sanity. Factories and mills must be segregated beyond the immediate vicinity of human habitation. Ample space between house

and house, trees, shrubs and flower beds are an absolute need.

Plenty of sunshine and pure air must be permitted to flood the atmosphere in and around our dwellings. One ugly tenement here and there may be allowed to remain (uninhabited, of course) as a relic and a monument to the barbarism and stupidity of a passing age. Overwork and under nourishment are unthinkable possibilities in a co-operative commonwealth. Anxiety and nerve-wrecking worries can be reduced to a minimum, once economic security becomes the aim and object of social effort.

PROFITEERING

Since we mentioned profiteering, we might as well commence the analysis of the present system by examining this phase of its insanity.

In the last few years the term profiteering has come into great popularity. So frequent is its use as a general denunciation that one is led to believe profiteering is distinctly and exclusively a war product. But is that true? Or is profiteering merely an aggravated variety of an old acquaintance?

From its birth to the height of its glory, students and critics of capitalist production have pointed out that the sole determining motive for the production of wealth in our industrial system is profit. Practically nothing is manufactured for human use and the satisfaction of our needs. To a superficial observer this statement may ring false. Just a trifle more than a casual attempt at an analysis and understanding must reveal the truth of the description: wealth is produced today primarily for profit.

Most homes are not built for habitation. If they were, they would be erected substantially, in pleasing surrounding, in artistic outline (not necessarily luxurious), and in comfortable proportion. Modern improvements, the re-

sult of modern invention, skill and ordinary labor should surely attend to enjoyment of all. But no, business for profits demands its toll. Slap some boards together, ram in some nails, smear on some cheap paint and sell them for "all the traffic will bear." If the houses don't collapse or the wind carry them away before you sell them, you need not worry what happens after.

Clothing, hats and shoes are not designed for health and comfort nor made for wear and durability. These elementary needs are of little significance in the process of modern manufacture, except for the demands of the wise or the well-to-do. "Make money" is the siren call of commerce. "Rake in the kale," shouts the debauchery of profiteering. Adulterate the food, gamble and speculate with the prime needs of life, store and hoard it until it rots, destroy the over-abundance and never mind if dire need and starvation face the population. Cheapen the price of food and permit its consumption only when it is conducive to the making of profits. This is the program, ethic and philosophy of capitalism.

No railroad, trolley or steamship is run, no coal is mined, no oil is pumped, no wood is cut unless it will bring handsome returns for somebody. Almost all human energy, skill and ingenuity is consecrated to the Moloch of profit. Profit is the foundation and cornerstone of our industrial and commercial world. Precious little exchange in man's marvelous achievements is transacted beyond the sphere of cold mercenary calculation. And yet that very precious little is both evidence of the economic salvation of the race and the firmament upon which must be built the future state of social advancement and justice.

The denunciation of greed, the vilification of human nature, the bitter cries and calls for punishment and retribution accomplishes very little good. Imprisoning or hanging the profiteer is no remedy. Those who believe and argue to the contrary are often mistaken for Socialists, but the slightest knowledge of Socialism is sufficient to dispel such ignorant raving.

The individual is largely a product of his environment and much of his conduct and behavior is the reflex of the peculiar method of getting a living in a particular stage of society. The profiteer is but the brilliant bloom of the soil, root, stalk and plant of our pernicious profit system—capitalism.

Those who call loudest for the chastisement and imprisonment of profiteers are generally those whose opportunity to profiteer for themselves is frustrated by the lack of money and advantage. Practically everybody will profiteer if they have a chance, and we Socialists are the last to blame or denounce them. Under the present “dog eat dog,” “each for himself and the devil take the hindmost” system of social relationship it is a case of either skin or be skinned. Any sensible being knows that it is better to be one of the respectable and publicly honored robber class than to be one of the contemptible “failures”—the robbed.

Our moral philosophy bids us “do unto others as you would have others do unto you.” But our moral philosophers and teachers staunchly support and participate in the game of “do others before they do you” and “get all you can and can all you get.” And the great masses blindly acclaim and vote for the continuance of the whole damnable profit system and its moral hypocrisy.

The Socialist directs attention to the fact that no lack of individual participation in the game would help to end it. No punishment of either the worst or the least offending profiteer would relieve the problem. No amount of preaching or moralizing will cure the cancer.

The profit system goes to the roots of society and infects its entire body. A fundamental industrial and social change is necessary for its abolition.

THE SOLUTION FOR PROFITEERING

One of the inevitable effects of the industrial and social changes that Socialism proposes, will undoubtedly be the solution of the problem of profits and profiteering. Many well-meaning folks scout this intention and are skeptical as to whether profit can be totally eliminated from the exchange of human activities. The argument is frequently met with, that the pursuit of profit is an element of human nature and that it has been with us ever since Adam's dog was a pup. Furthermore, we are informed, social intercourse without profits is but a dream—an impossibility.

Socialism as a science reasons from cause to effect. An understanding of any social ill must logically unfold its nature and cause, and must clearly suggest the course for its removal. Society is in constant motion of change and progress. Social evolution, its driving power, produces infinitely more rapid changes than evolution in any other phase of nature. Every social system carries over in its development vestiges of past stages of civilization. And in every phase or period of society there are distinctly visible the beginnings that develop into the constituents of the life and character of the next social order. Let us see whether we can simplify this lesson in sociology.

Careful observation will show that much progress has already been made in the direction of socialization. Collective ownership, the production of goods for use instead of for profits, the distribution of wealth and service according to the needs of mankind, all these ideals of the program of Socialism are part and parcel of some phases of our capitalist society.

As an illustration, take our streets, county and state roads. Highways at one time were as a rule privately owned. Toll roads and toll bridges—left-overs of the passed phase of society—are still to be seen here and there in parts of the country though they are rapidly disappearing. The general custom today is to publicly build and maintain streets and

highways and grant their use to everyone. Strange, isn't it, that profiteering does not obtain here! However, streets, roads and highways are rather antiquated and secondary avenues of social intercourse in these modern days of speed and hustle. The arteries and veins of our social body that carry the very blood of the nation are the trolleys, buses, railroads, steamships, etc. These means of locomotion, the highways of the Twentieth Century, are in the possession of private monopoly and are not operated for the use and convenience of the public, primarily, but for dividends and the enrichment of a few. Just as toll roads and bridges have passed, or are passing, out of the realm of profit making, so too, social progress demands the enactment of the same solution for our modern means of transportation.

Parks are most everywhere publicly owned, maintained and enjoyed. Would it not seem ridiculous to see parks privately owned, and toll gates at which one would be charged a fee to enter and obtain a breath of invigorated air? Thank your good fortune, parks are socially owned utilities, freely offered to the enjoyment of all. But how about our homes, flats and apartment houses. Are not these also social utilities? Evidently not, for we serenely permit our means of habitation to be the objects of speculation and rent profiteering.

The water supply in most communities is also collectively owned and maintained, and is furnished to us according to our needs. Water is a prime necessity, notwithstanding the objections of our anti-prohibition friends. But how about milk? Is not this liquid also a great public necessity? One would not believe it so, comparing the commerce of milk with that of water. The majority of two-legged short-eared asses in this land, who would not tolerate a private monopoly in water, support and vote for the continuation of a Milk Trust, which milks both the farmer and the public to the tune of millions of dollars of easy profits each year.

Most schools and libraries are public property today.

What a howl of indignation would greet one having the audacity to suggest the inclusion of these institutions in our profit system. And yet not so long ago, schools and libraries were private concerns. One of the financial problems and worries of our great grandparents was to obtain an education for their children. That problem is practically solved and that worry is almost abolished. The schooling of the children of even the most shiftless and indifferent of parents is provided for. Education (with the exception of the higher, and technical classes) is today a social responsibility. Elementary education is provided for every child in most parts of our land and is made compulsory. This principle, undoubtedly, will soon be enforced throughout the nation, and eventually it must include advanced and technical tuition as well. Compensation and other state aid should be given to families who can ill afford the loss of the wage-earning power of their grown youngsters. Society would then reap the full harvest of its intelligent investment.

Education is food for the brain, and so naturally and logically it must be within the reach of all. And furthermore, it must be made compulsory for those who are too ignorant to appreciate its value. But how about meat, bread, vegetables, etc? Nonsense, my child, these things are not food for the brain. These are food for the stomach. And that alters the case entirely! Let the gamblers, hoarders, speculators and profit mongers profiteer, juggle, gamble, hoard, speculate and destroy these necessities. One must not even question the rules of the profiteering game for fear of being classified with the "atheistic, home-destroying, free loving, nation-wrecking unpatriotic bunch of Bolsheviks." Our "safe and sane" conservative votes to preserve the profit system but would not for a moment consider the same system applied to our schools and libraries. And that is an inspiring attitude. At least in our publicly owned libraries he can freely secure, according to his needs, numberless books that logically annihilate the crazy profit

system, and at the same time hold up the mirror to his colossal stupidity in supporting and voting to continue it.

And last, consider the Post Office and the Fire Department. The latter is a most remarkable example of socialization. No defender of the profit system would ever even think of permitting the private ownership of the Fire Department. Imagine, can you, this institution privately owned and operated for profit? Surely, every person in the community would be at the mercy of such a concern. From the earliest times down to the present day, the work of fire extinguishing has been made a communal undertaking. The welfare and safety of all depends upon the welfare and safety of even the most insignificant one. In the matter of protection against fire the elemental common sense of mankind discovered this truth long ago. The present day efficiency of the Fire Department is a marvelous example of social service without profit.

All of these illustrations are but evidence of newer social forms developing within the old system. These collective institutions, heralds of a coming civilization, are constantly multiplying in number and are extending their scope and influence. Socialism is the inevitable outcome of social progress. The contradictions inherent in our profit system are gradually being displaced by the seedlings and roots of the next social order. The Socialists are organizing the forces of labor to fertilize and hasten this growth.

Land, natural resources, railroads, factories, food, clothing and shelter must become the collective concern of the people. Things socially necessary must be socially owned and operated. You need not have to change "human nature" to accomplish a solution for profiteering. All that is required is the reduction of the general ignorance of the masses and the cultivation of ordinary horse-sense and social intelligence.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

One of the most prominent features of our unsocial society is what the Socialists name the class struggle. It is by far the most glaring symptom of our insane system! Let us describe it in detail.

Many kind hearted, humanity loving folks often criticize the Socialists for their exclusive devotion to the cause and interests of the working class. "Why do you Socialists constantly emphasize the problems and needs of the working people only?" protests our amiable humanitarian friends. "Why don't you broaden your appeal and program to the interests of the whole people, the public?" asks our broad-minded, non-partisan and liberal reformer. The Socialist frankly asks, "The identity of interests of the whole people, the public—is there such an animal?" True, there are certain interests in matters of health and deportment which concern all classes in society in equal proportion. What the Socialist specifically refers to in his derision of the idea of the identity of interests of the whole people is the fact that in a society sharply divided along class lines the term "public" is a misnomer. Social concern, responsibility and co-operation towards the common welfare of all plays a very minor role in our capitalist system, with its competitive and destructive regime and its bitter social antagonisms. In the classless society Socialism would make possible, there would be an economic and social interest mutual to all.

Only a few short-sighted ignoramuses deny the existence of classes in present day society. The language of our time abounds with names and phrases descriptive of class identifications. We speak of capital, capitalists, landowners, bankers, financiers, magnates, employers, bosses, bourgeoisie, "the owning class," "those who have," "society," "the upper four hundred," "the best people of the town." Only an idiot would apply these terms to all of the people. We also speak of labor, laborers, mechanics, working people, wage-earners, employees, tenants, "the producing class,"

"the proletariat," "the propertyless," "those who have not," and "the common people." What fool would identify the interests of this group with the afore-mentioned gentry, the blest by fortune and the lords of creation? That class divisions and class conflicts exist is obvious to any honest and even semi-intelligent being. For the sake of simplicity we shall concentrate all these various names and phrases to the commonly understood division of society into two classes: the capitalists and the working class.

Much confusion is found in the minds of many as to their position in this classification. Not much of it, surely, among the capitalists. They usually have no misgivings in this matter. The bourgeoisie know what class they belong to and very rarely nominate themselves members of the working class. It is the many members of the working class that get mixed up in this state of affairs and often get themselves into the wrong stall in our social stable. Let us try to remove this confusion.

What is the chief characteristic of a member of the working class? It is found in the fact that the main source of his income is derived from the sale of his services, his labor-power. He may own the home in which he lives, the land upon which it stands, and he may also possess some hundred dollars and draw interest from them, and he may even own some bonds, stock or a lot or two, purchased on the instalment plan. All these possessions hardly place him into the capitalist class. If the largest portion of his living expense is obtained through wages or salary earned, he belongs to the wage-earning class, regardless of his property or his opinions. The worker exists by the SALE of his brain or muscle power.

A capitalist is one who BUYS labor-power as a means of getting an income. This is his chief characteristic and the foundation of his welfare. The capitalist may himself labor and work long hours and harder than his employees. He may cheerfully classify himself as a worker. That is his privilege. But his standing and power in the commun-

ity does not come from his own efforts. Only in the most exceptional case may a capitalist be a genius or a man of great ability and part of his income the reward for his talents. However, as a rule his wealth and power is obtained from the profits made through the purchase of the brain and muscle of others. The capitalist BUYS labor-power for a living and the workers SELL labor-power for a living. Scott Nearing writes of two kinds of income, service income and property income. The source of income obtained is a very clear indication of the class an individual is part of.

In some instances both of these incomes, service income and property income, in somewhat equal proportion are found in the possession of a number of persons. These people constitute the class commonly known as the middle class, and is composed of small merchants, storekeepers, some professionals, superintendents, managers and a considerable number of the farming class. In brief, the middle class consists of persons who derive income from their own labor and also receive an additional income from property owned or from the hiring and exploitation of the labor of others. This middle class, cursed by its dual personality and bewitched by its conflicting class interests, is appropriately named "the muddle class." Between the upper grindstone, big business, and the lower, the laboring masses, our middle class is in a devil of a fix. In its struggles it often sides with one and then the other class and finds no true nor stable position in the fury of the great warfare between the dominant classes in modern society; the capitalist and working classes.

As we have said, one class buys labor-power and the other sells labor-power. Naturally the one who buys wants to buy as cheaply as possible. The one who sells demands the highest price the market will bring. It is to the interest of every capitalist to buy labor-power as cheaply as he can and work his slaves to the limit of their energy and the power of their resistance. And you can not blame the boss for this. The intelligent worker will sell his energy and

skill for as much as he can get and he will give as little of his life as he possibly can. And you can not blame the worker for this. Here, then, is a distinct clash of interests, a struggle between two contending classes for a living. This conflict the Socialist names the class struggle.

Our humanitarian friends often accuse the Socialist of stimulating or creating the class struggle. This lunacy is much like that of some folk who blame the weather bureau for the bad weather it predicts. Socialists are not responsible for the class struggle. If every Socialist would die tomorrow and every Socialist book, pamphlet and paper were to disappear from the earth, the conflict of classes and all its bitterness and violence would still be with us. Socialism merely draws the attention of society to the existence of this struggle and demands its speedy ending. Socialists loathe and despise the class struggle with all the feeling inherent in sensitive and peace loving souls. Like the humanitarian, we, too, desire a world of co-operation and brotherhood. But we realize that the lion and the lamb can not lie down together as long as lions are not vegetarians. One can not sincerely be impartial in a reign of injustice. Only a complacent dreamer can ignore the realities of the struggle for existence. Any honest person must take sides in this combat. He must ally himself with one or the other class. The Socialist stands squarely by the side of the working class. Strange to say, the amiable compromisers and pacifiers are almost invariably found on the side of the capitalists in the class warfare, either actively or in the role of apologetic defenders of capitalism.

There is still another and a more important reason why Socialism espouses the cause of the workers in the class struggle. Let us use a rather crude but simple illustration. The average dog has fleas. These insects get their living off the dog. Some "phoolosophers" argue that fleas are necessary to the dog's health. "They give him exercise and something to scratch for." "Without fleas the dog would get so lazy and indolent that over-fattening and other complaints would surely endanger his existence." But the stren-

uous reception our dog lends to his fleas leads one to believe that an annulment of this partnership would improve the happiness of the dog.

The fleas, however, are perfectly satisfied with the dog, and naturally so. They get their breakfast, dinner, supper, playground and sleeping quarters on the dog. They would not leave him for a farm. It may, however, happen that some one flea may at some time climb out on the end of the dog's tail and say to himself, "I have lived on this pup long enough. I have given him many a sleepless night and have fattened at his expense. As a conscientious objector, I shall quit. Good-bye, my benefactor." Such an event may happen. But that flea is either an idealist or a crazy kind of a bug. If ever a divorce is effected among dogs and fleas, depend upon it, it will not be the fleas that will sue for the separation.

In human society there are also parasites. A parasite is one who lives upon another. Even the most conservative sociologists agree that many of the absentee landowning, banking and stockholding capitalists are pure and simple parasites. These noblemen exhibit much the same psychology as that of the fleas. They are perfectly satisfied with the capitalist system and things as they are. They don't want any change. The capitalists do not want Socialism any more than rheumatism. You may, possibly, find a capitalist now and then like our idealistic flea who will abdicate. But, folks, remember, one swallow does not make a drunk!

When the divorce comes between the workers and the capitalists, the producers and the idlers, surely it will not be the parasites who will institute the proceedings. Logically it is to the interests of the robbed to end the robbery. It is the task and the mission of the working class to end the class struggle, and to usher in the next phase of civilization, wherein all shall work and all shall enjoy the fruit of their toil.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS

We shall begin this chapter with a definition. "Socialism is the philosophy of a movement on the part of the working class towards the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution and a substitution for this system of society, a new social order wherein these things will be collectively owned and democratically managed."

This, like most definitions is a perfectly meaningless conglomeration of words that beg for further explanation. Definitions, as a rule, are compact and handy instruments provided one understands the subject. But for the uninformed it is absolutely necessary to define the definition. We shall, therefore, pick it apart and elucidate each word and phrase.

For the sake of simplification we shall say that a philosophy consists of a collection of ideas, opinions or views on any phase of existence that gives an individual or a group of individuals a viewpoint, an outlook or a method of interpreting phenomena. A movement consists of an organized mass of people heading in a certain direction and aiming to achieve a certain goal. Socialism, then, is the viewpoint of an organized mass on the part of, and in behalf, of the workingclass towards the achievement of a better form of social relationship. To obtain this goal the Socialist movement demands the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The means of production include all those things necessary in the process of creating, making, manufacturing or producing wealth, the sum and substance of life's needs, food, clothing and shelter. Land, natural resources, water power, mines, tools, inventions, machinery, mills and factories are the principle means of production.

The means of distribution include all those things and processes requisite for the transportation, exchange and

distribution of wealth from the source of production to the hands of the consumer. Railroads, trolleys, express companies, mail order concerns, steamships, barges, warehouses, storage plants, banks, department and retail stores are the principal means of distribution.

There are other means, difficult for correct classification, that exhibit features of both the means of production and distribution in one and the same undertaking. The facilities of public service, water, heat, light and power plants are such. Also the means of communication, the telegraph, wireless, cable, telephone and the means of accommodation, the hotels, restaurants, the apartment and tenement houses in our cities. In a still wider circle there are included the means to education, art and recreation, such as special schools, conservatories, opera houses, theatres, resorts, etc. In brief, all those establishments that cater to the common needs and the full satisfaction of human desires constitute the means of production and distribution.

In present day society these means are generally owned by private interests and are operated for the enhancement of the fortunes of a privileged few. The means of production and distribution are in their very nature social utilities. The prime needs of mankind depend on their continuous and efficient operation and service. The possession of these social necessities in the hands of a few is a powerful source of exploitation and a menace to the welfare of nations.

Furthermore, the great mass of toilers of brawn and brain whose livelihood depends upon the jobs and opportunities owned by the possessing class are enslaved by a new and a more efficient form of slavery. This modern form is known as wage-slavery. In the days of chattel slavery the master owned the slave and the products he made. Under the capitalist system the masters do not own the bodies of their slaves. The worker is a free man! But they who own the means by which one must toil and live practically own the toiler too.

In the preceding chapter we condensed all the various

names and terms of modern social classes in the simple classification—the capitalist class and the working class. For the sake of even further simplification we can speak of these classes as: the tool owners and the tool users. A hundred or more years ago there could have been made no such distinction, for those who owned the tools generally used them, and they who used them generally owned them.

Today one class owns the tools but does not use them. Another class uses the tools but does not own them. The means of production and distribution are the tools of the Twentieth Century. And they are gigantic instruments and machines, costly and enormous in proportion to the simple and inexpensive tools of by-gone times.

The class that owns the tools, the jobs, opportunities and necessities upon which the rest of us depend becomes the master and slave-owning class of our period. All society is forced to pay tribute to this oligarchy. This tribute accumulates into millions and billions and the flower and fruit of capitalism develops into millionaires and billionaires on the one hand and an impoverished, struggling and exploited mass of workers on the other.

To end this social injustice, to eradicate this contradiction in social progress, to eliminate these unjustifiable extremes of immense wealth on the one side and the pitiful hand-to-mouth existence on the other, to enable society to fully extend to the gratification of all its members the benefits of modern industry and technical progress so that every addition to the wealth producing power of mankind shall accrue to the comfort and happiness of all: that is the aim and object in the proposal of Socialism.

Socialism demands the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution; and the substitution for this system a social order wherein these things, socially necessary, shall be collectively owned and operated for the use of society instead of for the enrichment of a few.

SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Socialism demands something more than mere social ownership of public utilities. There is an important distinction between Socialism and national, state and municipal ownership in their present day status. This distinction exhibits itself in three prominent phases.

Firstly, Socialism proposes the common ownership of ALL things collectively used. Socialism demands an uncompromising and unconditional surrender of ALL social utilities into the possession of society. Government ownership, as popularly understood and accepted, has no such object.

The gradual introduction of government ownership is generally sanctioned by the large and well-paying propertied interests, and it has the beneficent effect of eliminating certain competing and annoying parasites that prey upon the larger combines of wealth.

Government ownership often comes as a timely rescue for certain corporations whose stock and property has been watered and exploited to a state of bankruptcy. But a too rapid application of socialization is extremely obnoxious to the upholders of the doctrine of the sacredness of private property. The large and profitable industrial concerns will surrender their powerful privileges inch by inch only in the face of the rising tide of Socialism.

The extension of the parcel post, the nationalization of railroads and forest preserves, the government development of waterways, irrigation and water-power advantages generally *redounds* to the increased wealth of the owners of the great trusts and monopolies. True, there is also a large public benefit in these public enterprises, but what the public receives is immensely overbalanced by the riches that flow into the pockets of the plutocrats.

Furthermore, in the nations of the world where the capitalist system prospers, the governments, or, more correctly,

the power behind the throne, is in the hands of the capitalist class. This fact stands forth most conspicuously, and this is what is meant in the Socialist dictionary by the term "capitalist governments."

The outward form of the government may be an absolute monarchy ruled by a Czar, Sultan or King; or it may be a constitutional monarchy or an advanced republic. But if in that government, regardless of its character or outward form, a comparatively small class own and control the resources and industries of the country, they practically own and control the government.

"But," protests our average citizen, "that may be true of some foreign nations, but surely that is not the case in our government of, for and by the people." And yet, numerous well-informed non-Socialist American publicists have pointed out from time to time that the control of our Federal, State and Municipal administrations is of, for and by the large propertied interests.

The writings of Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe and Judge Lindsey are illuminating compilations of facts demonstrating the capitalist conquest of government. To quote one of the most prominent authorities on this subject, Woodrow Wilson, in his "The New Freedom," writes:

"The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the records of Congress; it is written all through the history of conferences at the White House; that the suggestions of economic policy in this country have come from one source, not from many sources. The benevolent guardians, the kind-hearted trustees who have taken the trouble of government offices off our hands, have become so conspicuous that almost anybody can write out a list of them. They have become so conspicuous that their names are mentioned upon almost every political platform. The men who have undertaken the interesting job of taking care of us do not force us to requite them with anonymously directed gratitude. We know them by name.

"Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your Government you will always find that while you are politely listened to the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations.

"I have no objection to these men being consulted because they also, though they do not themselves seem to admit it, are part of the people of the United States, but I do very seriously object to these gentlemen being chiefly consulted and particularly to their being exclusively consulted, for, if the Government of the United States is to do the right thing by the people of the United States it has got to do it directly and not through the intermediation of these gentlemen. Every time it has come to a critical question these gentlemen have been yielded to and followed as a matter of course. * * * *

"The Government of the United States is a foster-child of the special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own."

Socialism demands the government ownership of all the resources and industries of the land and their rapid socialization, with the object of totally eliminating the influence of private interests. This is far from the ideal of our government ownership advocates and reformers. These people desire the elimination only of certain private interests and thereby hope to more securely hold the remaining opportunities of profit making.

Secondly, Socialism proposes that the socially necessary enterprises owned and controlled by the people shall be operated for the welfare of all the people and the products and services of these enterprises shall be exchanged at cost. And surely, no society possessing ordinary common sense would fail to reckon as part of the "cost" of any commodity or public service the items of depreciation, wear and tear, and the necessary sinking funds required by the extension and improvement of all undertakings. This is demand-

ed by the progress of industrial evolution and by the logic of the elimination of needless toil.

Government ownership according to the capitalist conception displays many features abhorrent to Socialism. Among some of the dangerous tendencies in the growing acceptance and establishment of government owned utilities is the adoption of the capitalist formula—make money.

Prove to the average property owner that we can reduce his taxes by the operation of "profitable" government ownership and our staunch anti-Socialist friend will enthusiastically assist to sacrifice the business of every one of his competitors. But should you be so indiscreet as to hint to our erstwhile individualist, that his business is also in line for socialization, a howl of righteous indignation will greet your ears and the Spencerian forecast of "The Coming Slavery" will be hurled into your face.

Government ownership that will pay, reduce taxes, and render cheaper service to our business class is the only form of government ownership they will accept.

Socialism will not tolerate the ideal of government ownership under "Business Administration." Converting the state into a labor-exploiting, profit-making institution is the antithesis of the Socialist program. Such a program is labeled "State Capitalism" and sometimes "State Socialism." And the Socialists the world over are opposed to it.

Socialism presupposes the complete abolition of profits and profiteering in private as well as in collective enterprise. It demands the end of capitalist property in the means of production and distribution. Furthermore, Socialism proposes the social ownership, control and operation of these things for use and not for profit, and for the comfort and happiness of all the people.

Thirdly, comes the most important difference between Socialism and government ownership, the question of the control and management of the collectively owned industries. Socialism is keenly sensitive to the criticism that so

correctly warns of the danger of the establishment of a huge tyrannical government bureaucracy, the substitution of a new and a more despotic crowd of slave-drivers in place of the old. This tendency is often so painfully demonstrated in present day government institutions and undertakings. Socialists are the last people in this land to advocate the placing of the industries of the nation into the hands of the politicians.

In most private industries the workers have considerably more freedom than in government departments. In private business the right to organize and strike is generally recognized by law as a defensive right of the toilers in most capitalist countries. But the very intimation of such a contingency on the part of government employes is regarded as absolute evidence of lawlessness and treason. Instances are too numerous and well known in recent times for the need of mentioning specific examples.

The abject slavery of the government employe and the consequent inefficiency and incompetence in many governmental undertakings are facts so well established in the popular mind that one can understand the hesitation and fear most people possess towards the acceptance of Socialism.

The Socialists are well aware of this menace and a fuller understanding of their program and aims will readily dispel this serious objection. Socialism proposes not only the collective ownership of the industries of the land but also their democratic management.

By democratic management is meant the application of the principle of democracy to the workshops. It means a voice and vote on the part of the workers in the operation of a plant, the election of foremen, non-technical supervisors and delegates to the boards of management. The representatives of the workers and heads of departments in conjunction with the delegates representing the public must constitute the directorate of the collectively owned industries.

These proposals no longer belong to the blissful heaven of theories. Hardly a day passes now without the publication of some interesting information of the introduction of democracy in industry both in private and collective concerns in many lands. The wild-eyed schemes of yesterday are eagerly applied as the healing ointment for labor troubles all over the distracted and frantic business world.

Some industrial lords have discovered the well-paying fact that the average worker can contribute excellent suggestions and innovations to the success of the business when his initiative is stimulated by some fraudulent form of industrial democracy. The giving to the workers a voice in the control of the plant, which means a knowledge of the profits, standing and possibilities of the business is also a fruitful source of harmony and peace, for a time.

Of course, the exact details of the plan of the voice and vote of the workers in the management of industry is something that cannot now be described in comprehensive outline. The laborious evolution of human experience and the conflict between failure and success, must work out the structure of industrial democracy as all other problems have been worked out in the history of civilization. The experiments in Soviet Russia and the outcome of the Italian labor struggles will contribute invaluable lessons to the working class in all parts of the world.

As a summary of our analysis, we should understand that Socialism demands the collective ownership of all things socially necessary as a means of abolishing our competitive, wasteful, profiteering and autocratic system of capitalist business.

Socialism plans the reorganization of all human effort towards the solution of the world's pressing problems, such as poverty, unemployment, high prices, strikes, class hatreds and violence.

The elimination of all forms of industrial despotism, including the autocratic control of government departments and undertakings, is the next step in human progress.

The development of the plan and achievement of industrial democracy will arouse in every worker and citizen a sense of social obligation and responsibility. And then must come a fuller appreciation of the maxim: the welfare of the individual depends upon the welfare of the society. And vice versa.

In a few words, Socialism is the economic realization of the ethical ideal of the brotherhood of man.

HOW WE MAY OBTAIN SOCIALISM

"How are you going to get it?" is a very common and sensible question. The answer is not so simple a matter as many folks believe. Great social changes are not dependent upon personal desires nor the schemes of a self-appointed few. The method of obtaining Socialism is the outcome of an understanding of the social forces and tendencies of a given time and not an exact blue-print plan of social salvation. And so a precise and satisfactory answer to the question "how" requires some elaboration.

Just as there is no royal road to victory, so there is no one and only way of getting Socialism. Determining economic, social and political conditions are the stage directors in the play of social progress. The answer to "How we may obtain Socialism?" depends upon our knowledge of how social changes have been and are being achieved.

There are but four methods by which private property has been and is being transferred to the collectivity. These are the processes of compensation, competition, taxation and confiscation. Which is the method and program of Socialism? Definite answers are frequently given by some individual Socialists. But the platform of the Socialist Party is usually silent on this subject. And it will be silent until our growing strength brings us nearer to the realization of our aims.

However, let us analyze the four tried and successful methods of socialization. Through their understanding will come the only possible and reasonable answer to our question.

By compensation is meant the program of purchasing the property of the capitalists with the funds of the State. Most radicals are horrified at the very suggestion of such a scheme. And there is much justification for that feeling.

Many sources of great fortunes such as land, natural resources and railroad grants, are huge slices of our commonwealth given away by our nation when it was young and foolish. By hook or crook our legislatures surrendered this wealth to our financial bandits. To pay the present beneficiaries and receivers of stolen property for its return seems an addition of insult to injury.

And then arises a more conservative question: where is the government going to get the money to buy such immense holdings? That is an easy one. It is very unlikely that any nation would attempt to buy out its entire capitalist class at one stroke. The hesitation danced by our capitalist statesmen to the tune our financiers play settles much doubt on this score. Every indication and tendency shows that the government purchasing capitalist property will be done on a retail scale. Trust our clever politicians, the bankrupt capitalist enterprises will be the first to enter the auction. And many political palms will be greased in the bargain.

Under our Common Law the government has the power of condemnation of any and all parcels of private property. It has the power to raise money for the purchase of anything it requires. Consider the tremendous sums a government can raise for war and destruction. Consider a period of greater social enlightenment and reconstruction. How much easier would it then be to float bonds, real Liberty and Victory Bonds, for the purpose of socializing capitalist property.

"But if you buy out the capitalist class, will you not give birth to a new privileged and wealthy class of bond owners?" Don't worry, Henry, a more sensible application of the graduated income tax would soon reduce that swelling.

Let it be carefully understood, however, that the program of Socialism does not specifically prescribe the method of compensation. That measure is likely to be determined by the conditions of the time and the wishes of the majority. And, furthermore, remember that the ideal of buying out the capitalist may be realized in part when Socialists are yet too weak in numbers and power to do anything else but protest. Capitalists will more cheerfully sell out than lose out, if they have the chance.

Then there is the method of competing an owner out of business. This is also a tried and tested procedure. Our mighty industrial magnates could volunteer much valuable instruction to our government in this matter. And they would instruct with the authority of much experience.

The extension of the Postal Department's activities in the field of Parcels Post and Rural Deliveries has handed the express companies a wallop. The Postal Savings Banks would have done the same thing to the bankers were it not for the tender-hearted interference of the "Bankers' and Business Men's Club"—the United States Senate. Thanks to their aid, thanks to Congress and the President, Parcels Post and the Postal Savings Banks are such feeble competitive concerns. The private express companies and banks can flourish and prosper alongside of our government undertakings and laugh the laughter of ridicule at our national stupidity.

Nevertheless, in many localities the municipalization of public utilities successfully competed the private concerns out of business. But there is a very definite limit to the process of governmental competition. For instance, it is absurd to imagine the government laying tracks beside the Pennsylvania Railroad to compete it out of existence. Or

to duplicate the plant of any large industry with the same object in view.

The scheme of competition as a means of acquiring the business of the capitalists, like the proposal of compensation, will be governed by the exigencies of the time and not according to the desired plan of some reformer.

Taxation as a method of obtaining socialization is so akin to the scheme of confiscation that we may as well lump the two together. Their sting is about the same.

"But," cry our terrified opponents, "do you Socialists advocate confiscation?" Not necessarily, dear friends. We so heartily despise the process of confiscation that we agitate year in and year out for the speedy abolition of the whole capitalist system of wholesale confiscation.

Socialists want to end the confiscation of our land and our natural resources. The exploitation of the farmers and the robbery of the workers of the fruits of their toil. The confiscation of the youth of our million toiling little ones in the mills of our land and the spoilation of the motherhood of our race-creating woman through drudgery and dangerous work. We want to abolish all this confiscation.

If we must imitate the methods of our master class in our effort to usher in the next social order, then at least let us change the label and name the process—restitution. Our aim is not to confiscate but to restore the wealth of the nation to the people of the nation.

Some Socialists may advocate confiscation. Our Republican and Democratic statesmen practice it. The history of our land is replete with notable examples of wholesale confiscation.

The Revolution of 1776 was a grand act of confiscation. That gave us a splendid beginning. The British King, Dukes and Lords were not paid a Dutch nickel for their former possessions.

The Proclamation of Emancipation during the Civil War was the announcement of the second successful experiment in this line. The slave owners were offered payment for their slaves as a peaceful solution of the evil. They refused the bargain. The ruling class is often a careless and stupid crowd. And that fact is also a determining factor in great social changes.

The Republican and Democratic worshippers of the "sacredness of private property" have given us the Income, Inheritance and Corporation Taxes. What charming and peaceful methods of relieving our corpulent financiers of some of their boodle! Thanks for the suggestion.

All forms of taxation are in their nature confiscatory, and yet highly respectable.

And then, last but not least, consider the supposedly sobering amendment of prohibition. Was not that the limit? Could Socialism really go as far as that?

Of course, prohibition is not exactly confiscation. But then, what is it? The government did not take the breweries, distilleries or saloons from their legally protected owners, did it? No. But wherein does prohibition differ from confiscation?

Imagine a case where a murderer was caught red-handed in the act of strangling a victim. Suppose he then confessed that he choked his victim to death. Imagine this criminal pleading not guilty! What an astonished jury there would be if it was confronted with the argument of the learned counsel that the culprit did not kill the man. He simply prohibited his breathing!

It is difficult to say whether the means of production and distribution will be socialized either by compensation, competition, taxation or confiscation. Who knows? The conditions of the time, the temper of the people and the force of expediency will bring forth the method and its successful adoption. All four schemes may have to be resorted to before the job is done.

The biggest question just now is not how are you going to do it, but are we ready to do it? Have we the power and the consent of the majority for the undertaking? Decidedly, no. Not yet. Then the only logical question before us is, when will the people be ready? Once they make up their minds for the task the methods will suggest themselves. An executive committee on behalf of the awakened citizenship can work out the plans in a few days.

As La Fontaine once said: "There are many ways of cooking a wild goose, but first catch one." That is our problem. There are many methods of doing the job. But first we must obtain the consent and the power to do it.

A majority of votes for Socialism, backed up by a determined and class-conscious organization of labor on the industrial field, would soon settle the question of how we may obtain Socialism.

HOW SOON MAY WE GET SOCIALISM?

The answer to the question, "How soon may we get Socialism?" like the answer to the question, "How are you going to get it?" depends very much upon conditions and little upon our impatience.

There are at least three determining circumstances. First, the ripeness of the economic, social and political conditions for the coming of Socialism; second, the will of the majority for it; and third, the influence of great crises in the course of events. Let us elaborate.

Socialism can not be established by a mere flood of propaganda. Certain economic, social and political factors must be ready at hand to form the foundation of its structure. These conditions are discernable in most capitalist countries of modern times. Only in the wildest imagination of the critics of the Socialist philosophy was Socialism ever established in ancient times, in Peru, or in Jamestown, Virginia, in colonial times.

The circumstances that determine the advent of Socialism are numerous and varied. We shall cite the principal ones.

The Industrial Revolution of the early part of the last century laid the foundation of modern capitalism. In turn the present industrial system is unwillingly preparing the reception for its successor, the coming age of Socialism.

The hand tool method of production and the individual and petty ownership of the means of production and distribution gave way to the colossal machines of modern capitalism and the centralization of industry and commerce into the hands of a few millionaires and billionaires.

As a consequence there grew an abject helplessness of the ever increasing mass of toilers of hand and brain whose only means of gaining a livelihood is dependent upon the good graces of the lords of the land, mines, railroads and industries.

The struggle between the hordes of labor and the owners of capital is forming the battle lines in ever larger array, intensity and efficiency for the last and decisive conflict. These tendencies are obvious to even our frantic reformers (chloroformers) who are straining every nerve to stem the tide of the social revolution.

The growing wealth and luxury of the few and the incessant struggle of the many to make ends meet, is a portentous factor.

The gradual surrender of some private enterprises into the possession of the state, and the appearance of a developing social consciousness are vivid evidences of the impending social change.

The constantly narrowing sphere of domestic exploitation and the further investment of surplus capital in the undeveloped parts of the world, along with the struggle

for foreign markets to get rid of our surplus products is another important factor in hastening the grand finale of capitalism. These were the principal forces that brought on the greatest catastrophe in the history of mankind—the late war. It was largely the result of industrial and commercial rivalry among the money powers of the world.

The war has reduced whole nations to a state of bankruptcy and decay. The decomposition is spreading the disease of capitalist annihilation with menacing rapidity from one country to another.

In the conquest of the powers of the state the seemingly divergent political servants of capitalism, the Republican and Democratic parties, are rushing into alliances and combinations wherever the growth of the parties of Socialism and Labor threaten their strongholds.

All these factors are evidence of the senility of an economic, social and political system. Out of the decadent stage of capitalism must come the birth of Socialism.

Soviet Russia is a striking example of the exception to the rule. It skipped a large period of capitalist development and decay. And therein lies its bitter handicap against the odds that frantically seek to destroy it. Communist Hungary was, on the other hand, a pitiful illustration of the truth of our forecast. Conditions were not yet ready. But they soon will be.

The capitalist system the world over is ripe for the change. In our country it is rotten ripe. The rumbling of the social earthquake is heard in every modern nation. And no human power can prevent its coming. It may be obstructed or delayed. But it is on the way.

The second factor is the will of the majority for Socialism. That is not yet expressed in this country. The majority do not as yet want Socialism. Why? Because

they do not know what it is. Our immediate task is to inform them.

Let it be understood, however, that an absolute majority of well-informed people is seldom necessary to inaugurate a social change. Majorities are apathetic. As a rule, a militant well-organized and intelligent minority has always been the driving power in human progress.

The few are generally far ahead of their times and suffer the consequences. A goodly minority, is just abreast of the time. And the vast majority is always a half a century behind their times.

When a substantial and determined minority catches up to the opportunities of the day and organizes the sympathy and desires of the masses into an effective movement, history is then in the process of making.

Eventually a majority of votes will be cast for Socialism. A majority of workers will be organized for effective industrial combat and control. And yet many in these majorities will not have a clear conception of the object and aims of the political and industrial movements they become part of.

It is an impossible job to convince everybody, and even most people. This is not necessary. The crowd follows a crowd. Behind the band-wagon of progress the majority follows with enthusiasm. But it takes a long time and much hard work and sacrifice on the part of the minority to get the band-wagon started.

When a healthy sized minority in a country understand the logic of Socialism, and work for Socialism, the majority will soon give their consent for its achievement.

Third and last, is the great factor of economic, social and political crises and their effect in hastening the coming of Socialism. Financial panics, industrial depressions and their great periods of unemployment, are social earthquakes that loosen the old system from its foundations.

Wars have the same effect, particularly in the defeated nations. There they create social and political disturbances that generally result in the obliteration of the old ruling classes. But the victorious nations are not necessarily immune from the same house-cleaning.

The World War was a great social cataclysm. During its first two years it overwhelmed all movements and forces of peaceful social progress. The International Socialist movement suffered a staggering blow. In many nations the Socialists were engulfed in the great chaos. In some countries they still are.

In 1917, a ray of light appeared. Out of the horrible night of the world disaster came the longed-for morning. Over the Ural Mountains in the East came the bright, red dawn of a new day. The rising sun of Russia heralded the ending of the old order of capitalism. Its rays soon became visible in Hungary, Austria, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. The mist of the fields in these lands is temporarily obscuring the dawn. In Italy, England, Sweden and France, the red-combed cock is also announcing the hour of day-break.

The rapid rise of the labor and Socialist movements of the world is grasping the slipping powers of state in many lands. The greatest period of accelerating progress is now unfolding its astonishing changes every hour before the suffering world.

Socialism is coming, and coming fast. How soon we may obtain Socialism also depends on you. Get off the grand stand and enter the movement. Become a maker of history and not merely a reader of history. And we shall soon attain the conquest of power and the realization of our dreams.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The Socialist movement possesses four distinct, though not necessarily separate, phases. In its onward march towards victory it progresses along four broad avenues. The Socialist philosophy embraces all phases of our social life, and the Socialist movement unites and shapes the needs and aspirations of the workers into concrete expression and practical organization.

The four phases of the Socialist movement are found in the economic, co-operative, cultural and political organizations of Labor. Many of these organizations are either directly affiliated with the Socialist Party or avowedly Socialist in their sympathy. Others are organized under various names, and some even disclaim any connection with Socialism. But Socialists are generally the life and guiding power within and behind these organizations.

The Economic Movement

The economic movement is the trade union, or more broadly, the labor movement. Like Socialism, Trade Unionism is a by-product of the capitalist system. They are twins born of the same mother.

The trade unions sprang into existence as a defensive weapon against the aggression of capitalist exploitation. After years of untold sacrifice and bitter persecution, the labor movement eventually assumed the offensive in behalf of the rights of labor and social advancement. It rose through numberless defeats and victories to its present position of power and influence.

The trade union movement reduced the hours of labor. It improved the conditions in the factories and workshops in relation to health and safety. It eliminated in many industries the abuse of child labor and the sweat-shop system. In the needle trades the unions vigorously

combatted the sub-contracting system, which turned, and to some extent is still turning, many a home in our crowded city tenements and in the rural and small town communities, into a source of obtaining cheap and helpless labor. Whole families, including their small children, are pitilessly exploited.

The trade unions became an effective means of obtaining more wages for work delivered, a larger share of the value created. The ever increasing cost of living, however, is making constant inroads upon these wage victories. The trade unions have not successfully resisted the rise of prices in the necessities of life by an adequate rise in wages, nevertheless, they have fought valiantly against great odds. The meager wage increases have at least prevented a lowering in the standard of living.

The trade unions have abolished in some industries the slave driving devices, such as piece work, the bonus system and related methods of intensive exploitation introduced in the name of "Modern efficiency."

The trade unions have very greatly raised the standard of living of the toilers not only in their respective organizations, but their influence has extended into the conditions of the vast unorganized masses. They have elevated the morale, broadened the outlook and brightened the lives of generations of workers.

Of course, the trade union movement developed many defects and reactionary tendencies. Many unions became, and still are, petty job-trusts and sick-and-death benefit lodges instead of fighting machines. With their high initiation fees, restricted membership and the exclusion of women, Negroes and alien workers, some unions have become worthless weapons for the advancement of the interests of the working class.

The undemocratic form of organization has frequently delivered the control of many trade unions into the hands of a corrupt group of politicians and has caused havoc

and ruin in the labor movement. The system of all-powerful business agents (walking delegates) and the general lack of control by the membership over its officials has given opportunity and power to a scheming and despotic gang of grafters, who have again and again sold out the workers into the hands of the masters.

The Socialist in the unions is generally a vitalizing and educating factor. Sometimes he is a verbose and tactless nuisance. But he is seldom found among the unscrupulous betrayers and misleaders of labor.

The Socialist is animated with the vision of ending the class struggle and abolishing the system of wage slavery. And because of his vision, his knowledge and devotion to the cause of labor, he is an inspiration to the rise and dignity of the labor movement and its progress towards the ultimate emancipation of labor.

The Socialist movement gives immeasurable aid to the labor movement. It develops its speakers, organizers and writers. It renders invaluable assistance in the work of organizing the unorganized. It plunges whole-heartedly into every strike and lends financial and moral support to the strikers. The Socialist press, their halls, speakers, lawyers, public officials and writers are at the command and service of the battling toilers. In brief, the Socialist movement enters into the work of labor organization with enthusiasm. It assists the strikers and cheers them on to victory. And it consoles and lightens the shock of defeat.

As an educating influence the Socialist movement teaches the need of greater efficiency in organization. Socialists espouse the industrial form of organization. They mercilessly criticize and battle to destroy the narrow job-trust type of unionism. The Socialist is an enemy of all restrictions in labor organizations that tend to exclude women, aliens and workers of the different races, color and creeds.

The Socialists advance the ideal of a comprehensive form of organization, not along the obsolete lines of craft unionism, but the organization of all the workers within an industry, regardless of craft, skill or non-skill, into an industrial union. And eventually all the industrial unions must be united into a powerful combination of labor, a one big union, instead of an impotent federation of unions, each pulling its own way and serving its narrow, selfish interests.

Socialists demand the curtailment of the employers' right to indiscriminately hire and fire, and the protection of the workers from unemployment during the slack season.

The Socialists encourage the spread of the shop chairman, or shop steward system. The adoption of this system is the first effective step in the direction of abolishing the autocratic power of the employer and the beginning of the democratization of industry. The Socialists believe, and encourage the unionists into the belief, that the ultimate mission and aim of the unions is to prepare themselves for the task of managing and running the industries when they are taken over by society.

Besides criticizing narrow selfishness, high initiation fees, restrictive tendencies, inadequate forms of organization in the labor movement, the Socialist incessantly labors to democratize the unions of to-day. He strives to arouse a greater interest and a sense of responsibility on the part of the membership. This enlightenment goes a long way towards eliminating grafting business agents and corrupt and ignorant officialdom.

The leadership of the unions is after all but a reflex, a photograph, of the membership. No enlightened membership would tolerate an ignorant leadership very long. Instead of abusing the leadership of the unions, the Socialists endeavor to educate the membership. That is why many of the mis-leaders of the labor movement hate the Socialists.

The influence of the Socialist movement upon the labor movement is vividly indicated in the progress of labor in every country. The unions that have kept aloof from this contact are not numbered among the conspicuous and virile unions of the day. The influence of the Socialist movement upon the unions is so strikingly marked that the progressive and efficient organizations of labor are frankly labeled radical or Socialist unions.

It is in this sense that we classify the Labor movement as a phase of the Socialist movement in its march towards the coming civilization.

The Co-operative Movement

The Co-operative movement is still young in this country. But it is growing with remarkable rapidity. In time it will assume the power and influence the great Co-operative movement occupies in European lands.

The co-operative enterprises in both the fields of production and distribution tend to reduce the cost of the necessities of life and to improve the quality of commodities in contrast to the process of capitalist greed and exploitation. But that is by far the minor role the Co-operative movement plays.

One of their great lessons to the world is to demonstrate that an industry can be successfully conducted for the use and satisfaction of the community, instead of for the profits of a few. They teach the gospel of self-reliance to the workers and encourage the acceptance of the ideal of ultimately abolishing all industry for profit.

Furthermore, the co-operatives can and do render valuable aid to the labor unions in their battles against capitalism. In time of strikes and lockouts, they become agencies of relief, untainted with the stigma of arrogant charity—relief that comes from the economy of humanely and justly conducted industries in the hands of the work-

ers themselves. Lastly, the Co-operative movement, when operated under the influence of Socialists, lays aside part of its surplus for the maintenance of labor schools, halls, forums, newspapers and the general activity of Socialist propaganda. Thus, the co-operatives also become a phase of the Socialist and labor movements.

The Cultural Phase

Ignorant discontent is not a fertile ground for the growth of the Socialist movement. Rather is it a fertile source of disorder, riot, and bloodshed. Socialism endeavors to develop an intelligent discontent, a discontent that understands the nature of our problems and the means by which they can be eliminated.

Socialism stimulates a discontent with the present incompetent social order and arouses in the worker a desire to obtain the fullest measure of comfort and happiness the wealth of society can afford to all its members. Most workers, due to their general ignorance and low state of culture, have very limited desires and a narrow outlook upon life. The beauties of nature, the delights of travel and the artistic achievements of the human race have little meaning to them. They pass through life unconscious of most of the good things because they are so engrossed in the pursuit of their elementary needs. And the pity of it all is, their stupid contentment with their miserable lot. They are reconciled to the belief that most pleasures, above the animal phases, belong only to those of the upper classes.

The Socialist movement eradicates this state of mind. In every country it establishes schools, libraries, forums and societies to enhance the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the toiling masses. It brings the arts, sciences, and philosophies, the intellectual joys of mankind, into the monotonous and dreary lives of the working class.

The Rand School of Social Science is one of these Socialist institutions. Its influence in moulding the new psychology of the workers is yet too little recognized by the labor movement of the United States. Its work in the training of thousands of apostles of the coming order of society is slowly being appreciated in many parts of the land.

The reactionary hordes of big business fully understand, a thousand times more fully than do the workers, what a menace the Rand School is to the continued existence of capitalist exploitation. That is why they so frantically attempt to destroy it.

The same is true concerning the Socialist press and other Socialist educational mediums. Every agency of the capitalist class is marshalled to harass and hinder this work. Nevertheless, the Socialist movement grows more invincible from year to year. It holds aloft and carries forward the torch of enlightenment. And it is the one great light that penetrates the gloomy lives of the working class.

The Political Phase

Political action, to the Socialists, is a means to an end. That end is the conquest of the powers of the state to inaugurate the program and ideal of Socialism. In the capture of the State out of the domination of the capitalist class, the Socialists seek to transfer its authority to the workers of hand and brain.

But before the Socialists are in the majority and in full possession of political power, they will have elected numerous officials. They have elected men in many parts of the land. The Socialist Party is a growing minority party.

The work of the Socialists in public office where they have full power in a locality, such as a municipality, is to administer the government primarily to the interests of the workingclass, the great majority of the people.

No sensible person expects Socialism to be established in any single municipality or state. The national character and inter-state nature of most industries makes this venture impossible. The capitalist control of the state and national legislatures and courts also prevents such a scheme, if the Socialists had such plans. But the Socialists fully realize that their program in full can only be applied on a national scale.

Wherever the Socialist officials constitute the minority party, their duty is to present and defend the aims and interests of the workingclass, and to use every opportunity to expose the absurdity and failure of the capitalist parties to serve the interests of "the whole people." In a word, as a minority party, the Socialists are essentially propagandists.

The growth of the Socialist Party, here as elsewhere, is necessarily slow. But it is persistent. It will continue to be so until the Socialist movement gathers more strength and obtains momentum.

In conclusion, let us sum up our description of the four phases of the Socialist movement. The economic phase, the trade-union movement, organizes the workers for industrial defense and prepares the unions for their coming task of managing the socially-owned and controlled industries; the co-operative movement is training the workers in the running of industry without profit and is laying the foundation for the larger Co-operative Commonwealth; the cultural phase develops the desire on the part of the toilers for a more just social order and an equal opportunity to partake in the enjoyment of the intellectual pursuits of society; the political phase, as represented by the Socialist Party, aims to attain the political power by which the program and ideals of the Socialist movement can be fulfilled.

Thus the Socialist movement progresses on towards its goal. You must get into it so that it may move more rapidly. If the logic of Socialism appeals to you join the Socialist Party. Join it at once.

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INTRODUCTION

If I live to be a hundred I shall never forget my first outdoor speech in New York. It was to be in the evening but my knees began to knock together and my teeth to chatter almost as soon as I woke up. Anxiously I scanned the sky for clouds prophetic of rain to break up the meeting. No rain fell and somehow I and the audience both survived the meeting.

If the subject had been Socialism, if I had then known August Claessens, or if I had read this book I might not have been so badly off. Anyway, there is no authority in the United States, or I think in the world, better fitted to lead beginners than my friend and Comrade, August Claessens. He is, I think, the finest soapboxer in America, and for what we call soap-boxing I have a very high admiration. The same qualities that make him so effective on the street corner make him equally effective in a hall or before any audience. He doesn't know I'm saying this and he is too modest to say it in his own pamphlet.

I find in him several qualities we all should try to emulate. First, he does not thunder at an audience or ever talk over its head or down to it. He takes the audience into his confidence. He has a "come now, let us reason together" sort of attitude.

Second, he makes a very skilful use of illustrations. They are apt, to the point, and not dragged in by the hair of the head.

In the third place, he avoids two opposite errors into which we Socialists are likely to fall. On the one hand he does not talk about too many things. He does not feel obliged to give his opinion in one speech on everything from Einstein to rheumatism. He sticks to Socialism.

On the other hand, he does not have just one Socialist speech which habit has so fixed in his memory that his language falls always into the old familiar groove. He

keeps up to date and applies the fixed principles of Socialism to the changing scene with skill and intelligence. How he does it, in so far as that can be put on paper, will be found in this most helpful little manual. I commend it to all Socialist speakers, and that ought to be to almost every Socialist.

Remember that the purpose of Socialist speaking is not to win praise for a great oration; it is rather to carry aloft the hearts, the minds and the wills of the hearers. If Socialism is the hope of the world, it must be a hope that we can impart to our fellow men. This book will be enormously useful in showing us the way.

NORMAN THOMAS.

I. CAN I BECOME A GOOD SPEAKER?

There are at least three requirements for the development of a good public speaker: knowledge, a fair command of language and an ambition to become a good public speaker. The other qualifications come along with study, learning from others, experience and an abundance of practice.

Knowledge is the accumulation and assimilation of information. It is a growth that must continually be nourished and refreshed. To be a good speaker one must be a diligent student. You need not wait until you know enough to commence speaking. You certainly never can know enough. When you stop reading your knowledge diminishes and your effectiveness as a speaker rapidly deteriorates. Speaking is thinking aloud, and we begin to know how little we really know only when we try to explain it to others. A clear explanation depends upon a clear understanding. If an intelligent person gives a muddled account of a subject he is soon aware of his lack of understanding of it. And, finally, one is compelled to think more rapidly and often more lucidly when one faces an audience, when one speaks to, and thinks with, others.

There are some people who acquire a good command of language easily and rapidly and they are often referred to as gifted, talented or "born speakers." The possession of language, nevertheless, is a growth. Our vocabulary becomes richer and the flow of language easier the more we read, listen and speak. There are cases, to the contrary, of well informed persons who are very poor speakers. There are many and complex conditions involved in these exceptional cases and not all of them are necessarily hopeless. In the case of the general run of public speakers, it is absolutely true that they do im-

prove by practice. Practice does enrich one's vocabulary. A well read person accumulates a great quantity and variety of words, and in oral exercise he develops the power and art of expression. Finally, and most decidedly, any one who can converse fluently and effectively can become a good public speaker.

The other important requirement in the making of a speaker is the *ambition* to *become* a public speaker. Of course, most people have little ambition to become speakers or to be conspicuous. Among most of those who would like to do some public speaking, the greatest obstacle to begin with is the lack of confidence in their own potentialities. But where there is the will to try, the desire to succeed, the development is easy. As knowledge and vocabulary can be acquired, the technique of effective delivery can also be learned.

When a person has ideas and opinions, he usually enjoys expressing them. Such people are propagandists, and whether they care to mount a platform or not, they are public speakers. Those who want to be successful speakers, however, must master the technique and art of delivery, system and logic in argumentation and should have some knowledge of crowd psychology.

As to the so-called "born orator" or "talented speaker," there is little evidence that any of us came into life with special gifts or capabilities. On the other hand, there is an accumulation of evidence that unusual ability is largely the product of unusual diligence, practice and determination.

2. NERVOUSNESS

Beginners in all professions are nervous, some more and others less so. There are several causes for this ailment; and except in rare cases it is easily overcome. The commonest form of nervousness is the mental condition of most all of us when we are engaged in doing something new and unusual and, particularly, when we do it in the

presence of others. We then become unduly self-conscious. We center too much critical attention upon ourselves and bring on a nervous tumult. This condition destroys our normal poise and makes it difficult to do what we intend to do. Thus we cough, fidget, stammer or speak too rapidly and get our feet entangled. Now, we don't behave in this fashion in ordinary conversation. But doing an unusual thing, especially before an audience, naturally makes us nervous. After a few experiences, the unusual task becomes less unusual. Progressively the concentration upon ourselves diminishes, and as we increase our attention on what we are doing, our nervousness vanishes.

Nervousness may also be caused by the inability to find a ready supply of words on the tip of one's tongue. This is overcome by giving the tongue plenty of exercise and by frequent peeps into a dictionary. We learn to talk only by talking. The great art in public speaking is knowing when to stop.

Still another kind of nervousness is caused by attempting to discuss what one does not sufficiently understand. Of course, there are lots of accomplished orators who talk nonsense effectively and beautifully, but these spell-binders are actors of long experience and practice. A beginner, however, has a mean enough time of it discussing a topic he knows something about; when he tries to expound something he only dimly understands, his oral apparatus certainly doesn't function. The remedy is, therefore,—do not speak about something you do not understand. Practice with subjects that you know at least something about.

3. THE CONVERSATIONAL METHOD

Most teachers in practical public speaking insist that there is, and should be, no essential difference between good conversation and effective public speaking. Good delivery should be as easy and natural as conversation. Poor dramatics, bombast, artificiality and affectation in

delivery smack of insincerity, and poor elocution. The oratorical style of declamation is also out-of-date. The intimate heart-to-heart manner carries with it an air of sincerity and tends to be persuasive and convincing. Instead of talking *at* an audience, it is infinitely more pleasing and effective to talk *to* it. The conversational method is sometimes named the communicative manner. It is the modern standard of effective public speaking.

Most certainly, public speaking differs from mere conversation. One need not speak so loudly to one or several as to an audience. Then again, in public speech one usually has the solo part. But the most important difference is that conversation generally is a pleasant ramble, with constant side-trips and interruptions, and the ground covered is limited only by time, knowledge and caprice. A speech, oration or lecture, on the other hand, should be carefully prepared, planned as to structure and objective and limited in time and content.

4. TYPES OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

There are four types or methods of public speaking: delivering a speech which has been memorized, the reading from manuscript, the impromptu, and the extemporaneous. The first is difficult, painful and quite useless in Socialist propaganda. Reading from manuscript is torture to both speaker and audience. One can learn to read to an audience most impressively, but audiences are usually not inclined to listen to a reading, unless the speaker is a noted person.

The popular notion about impromptu speech is that it is speaking without preparation, talking along with one's thinking, or the making up a speech as one goes along. This style is generally used in very short and informal speeches, in answer to questions and in rebuttals. It is excellent oral exercise and the very essence of conversation; but in all talks, short or long, impromptu speaking is extremely hazardous. Experienced and ef-

fective speakers seldom speak without some sort of preparation. It is an old joke and a true observation that the best impromptu speeches are carefully prepared. A public speaker facing an audience with little or no idea or plan of what he is going to say is bound to ramble, and it is only by accident that he can be coherent and convincing. But why should anyone depend upon chance when the job can be done efficiently? To that end, the extemporaneous method is the most practical. It compels the speaker to plan the speech carefully, understand the material to be used, arrange it in logical and effective order and to think out the connections and the objective to be attained. The outline or memorandum is sketched out in brief notations or short sentences, with headings and sub-headings, and then, like the famous canned soups, all that is necessary is to heat and serve.

One may glance at the outline or notes while speaking, or, depending upon experience and ability, one may dispense with them altogether. It is important, however, that the speech be *planned* in advance. The working out of even a short speech on the back of an envelope or card is sufficient mental discipline for good speakers, and it certainly produces the effect of unity, purpose and pointedness in their talks. Although one is, and should be, bound to an outline as the result of preparation, the extemporaneous method of speaking nevertheless permits the best in impromptu, namely, the freedom to choose words and phrases as they come to mind. It gives the speech all the spontaneity and freshness so necessary in effective public speaking.

5. THE GATHERING OF DATA

To make a good speech one must understand the subject. One must positively be full of the subject. A fine propagandist is an alert student whose interest in the subject is intense and continuous. Eventually the subject becomes a part of him and he becomes a part of the subject.

The sources of information are many and easy to make contact with. There are innumerable books, periodicals, etc., that every student can gain access to. There are also all kinds of research bureaus, committees and organizations that gather and compile information on most every economic, social and political topic. To mention but a few: The National and State Labor Departments; The Rand School Research Bureau; The League for Industrial Democracy; The National Child Labor Committee, and many others. All scientific works and text books carry indexes which enable the student to turn quickly to certain pages to find what he may need. It is so easy to find material for speeches that there is absolutely no excuse for any speaker's facing an audience and not knowing what he or she is talking about. Those in charge of our propaganda meetings should firmly discourage and even refuse the platform to any speaker who is too negligent, lazy or indifferent properly to inform himself.

Many of us keep some sort of scrap books. All of us should clip, make memoranda and file in folders or envelopes all such material that we sometime use. Self-collected data are often superior to the prepared and digested material gathered by others. What one sees, hears, reads and thinks about usually impresses one more deeply, and can be related much more vividly than data that we are less familiar with.

6. FORGETTING PART OF ONE'S SPEECH

The average person is of the opinion that to be a good speaker one must have a phenomenal memory. That is not true. In fact, educational psychology states emphatically that the mind should not be crammed with data; on the contrary, one should be encouraged and trained to observe and think, to obtain and use information. An encyclopedia need not walk. Furthermore, the brain is not a storage bin. It is a marvelous instrument and we know something as to how it can be used and abused. The brain improves with use. The process of learning

and retention goes on without great effort and no average individual can forget much that he or she is intensely and continually interested in. In fact, when a subject becomes part of one, there is greater danger of becoming set and biased than there is of forgetting and we must be ever on the alert and open to new data and opinion and cultivate the critical faculty of genuine thinking.

A trained speaker also does not usually forget parts of his speech, because he does not depend upon memory alone. He usually knows what he is going to say, how it should be said and how much time should be used. He does not burden his mind with statistics, quotations and other specific data. These are on his notes and before his eyes while speaking, and he quotes without hesitation or bungling.

7. OUTLINES

After you have gathered sufficient material for a speech, the next step is its orderly arrangement. Having clearly in mind what you wish to impress upon your listeners, you must outline the structure or skeleton of your talk. It must have order, connection, progress and logic in arrangement. Sketch your thought out very briefly. Outlines or Notes should not be written in essay fashion. Avoid long sentences unless they are to be used for quotation. This enables you to read at a glance and catch the next point and thus prevent awkward pauses in the delivery. Experienced speakers when using notes see the next argument in their outline during the closing sentences in the previous one, and by this method the notes become helpful and inconspicuous. Badly and over-written notes compel too much attention to themselves and result in the speaker's losing contact with the audience.

There are many formulas for arranging or outlining speeches. Chapters on this subject are found in the numerous books on public speaking.* There is also room for infinite originality.

In the treatment of social or economic problems the simplest form is the following:

Introduction (A description of the problem).

Causes (a-b-c- etc.)

Effects (a-b-c- etc.)

Remedies (Immediate and ultimate.)

Conclusion and Appeal.

You can also reverse the order and treat the effects first and the causes second. In outlining a talk on a controversial question involving two or more distinct points of view, arguments and proposals, a good form is the following:

Thesis (Your argument—Outline it in logical order.)

Antithesis (The other and contrary arguments. Outline carefully and present impartially.)

Synthesis (The points of agreement—the points of difference—the conclusion.)

Another good form to practice with is the following, whereby one can present the conclusion first and then the arguments to sustain it:

This Condition Should Exist (Examples: Every worker should have a job. Machines should be a blessing. What every child should have—etc., etc.)

However, This Condition Does Not Exist! (Why?—Facts—Reasons.)

What Must Be Done.

For more detailed illustration, I am adding a complete outline on the following subject:

Introduction

The seriousness and extent of the problem—its modern character—in good as well as in bad times.

Alleged Causes

Presidents are responsible—prohibition—tariffs—overpopulation—sun spots,—etc., etc.

*See the excellent work "Public Speaking," by Prof. James Albert Winans, the Century Company, New York.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Minor and Contributory Causes

Illness and old age—child labor—seasonal work—machinery and newer technology—changes in styles—mergers, bankruptcies, removal of plants—stock market and financial crashes.

Major Causes

The inequality in income—the exploitation of the workers—the profit system—overproduction—the anarchy of capitalist planless production.

Effects

Poverty—distress—illness—discouragement—crime—prostitution, etc.

Palliatives

Adequate federal, state and local relief—public work—government labor exchanges—unemployment insurance—shorter work day and week.

Ultimate Remedy

Socialism: equitable distribution of income—production for use—planned economy—democratic management—a powerful Socialist Party.

8. PARTS OF A SPEECH

The question often arises: what material should I use to open a talk? Also, what material should one use in the conclusion? There are several choices in the selection of material for the opening and closing parts of a speech. Their use is dependent upon the topic and scheme of argumentation. Some topics demand a clear definition of terms at the outset. For example, a good talk on Socialism can be made by presenting a definition at the beginning and then taking this definition apart and illustrating every term and phrase in it. In fact, all comprehensive definitions are, as a rule, excellent outlines for talks. Another method is to let your audience know what you intend to cover and prove. Somewhat in the fashion of books, you can give your listeners a "table of contents"

or preface. This method, if judiciously used, may arouse and attract interest in what you have to say. Then there is the ancient and much used style of opening with a fine quotation. Another popular form is to open with a statement of the gravity or seriousness of the subject and the great need for more enlightenment upon it. Lastly, there is the much abused style of beginning with an anecdote or story. However, if you study your material, you can not fail to find something in it striking enough to use in your introduction.

For the concluding section of your speech you may use the following suggestions: a summary or recapitulation; an anecdote, quotation or rhetorical or poetical peroration; an appeal for action, for membership, or for funds.

9. PROGRESS IN ARGUMENTATION AND CLIMAXES

A well constructed speech must also be planned for effectiveness. The best of material, if poorly arranged, may fail to get the response that it should obtain. The individual as well as the group or crowd mind is far from receptive to new ideas and propaganda generally. Bearing in mind that one has a cold or indifferent attitude to contend with in the average audience, it is necessary to raise its temperature. This is accomplished by arranging the material so that the argument improves and grows stronger and more impressive as the speech progresses from point to point. In brief, if there are, for example, a number of arguments or illustrations in the speech or in any sub-division of it, they should be so arranged so that the relatively weakest come first, the better ones following, and the best one last. The average mind remembers the last points most vividly, and usually judges the whole speech by its concluding section. Moreover, this method lifts the state of interest from a lower to a higher level and arouses response. It is the prime element in spell-binding. A clever debater makes use of this psychological factor in worsting his opponent. He does

it by reversing the order of his adversary's argument, briefly answering his best points first and then having a grand time with his victim's comparatively poorer points at the end of the rebuttal.

The progressive arrangement and development of material in a speech also leads to the form of a climax or a series of climaxes and when this is successfully achieved you get "a rise out of the audience," in other words, applause and the demonstration of approval.

10. ILLUSTRATIONS

"So and so is an interesting speaker." Why? He may be eloquent, pleasing, amusing, or instructive. Each and all of these qualities may interest listeners. However, a necessary factor in holding the interest of an audience is the good use of illustrations. They serve like pictures in books and newspapers and help one to see more clearly; and the illustrations in a speech add vividness and elaboration to the argument. Illustrations should consist of simple narrations or descriptions of things seen, heard or read about. They can also be serious, satirical or humorous stories. When carefully used, illustrations heighten the effectiveness of a speech and bring relief against the monotony of argument piled on to argument. They are much easier to listen to and furnish light upon the subject. A "dry speaker" is usually one who ignores the necessary "human interest" element and fails to "dramatize" his subject.

Abundant use of illustration brings liveliness to a talk. Of course, one must be able to tell a story well and describe a scene vividly. This skill can also be acquired. By listening to effective speakers and studying their methods and by imitating (there is no crime involved in doing that) much can be learned. Steal a good story if you want to, but please remember that you offend only by spoiling it in the telling. Don't be so sure that you can not repeat a story or describe a touching scene. Try

it often and even though you may not do it as perfectly as "so and so," you will eventually do it well enough to be effective. Always keep in mind the important advice that an illustration must *illustrate*. It must throw light on the important point in the argument. The thing you want to prove is the primary objective and hence the illustration is a secondary means. A story, no matter how good, should not be used for its own sake; it has no place in a serious argument unless it is apropos. It should also be used in proper proportion and in relation to the argument it elaborates. An illustration must not distract attention or overshadow the lesson it wishes to drive home. It must shed light and color upon the theme. A study of fables and parables is excellent instruction for the fine use and effectiveness of illustrations.

II. GESTURES

An audience not only hears a speaker but also insists on seeing him. In listening, our eyes are also engaged. Because of that, a speaker must be careful about his appearance. There must be no untidiness, no awkwardness or distracting behavior. First, as to your feet. Place them in an easy and comfortable position, walk around if you are inclined to do so. Don't stand with your legs crossed and don't try to stand on one leg—you are not a stork. As to your eyes, look ahead of you and into the faces of your audience. They are usually pleasant to look at and most people behave quite decently while you are looking straight at them. Looking over their heads or down at your feet is discourteous and the audience retaliates by also ignoring you. As to your hands, at first, leave them alone. Keep them out of your pockets. Don't hold them behind your back and please don't strangle the table or railing before you. Above all, keep your hands free; don't brandish a newspaper or pencil. Let them rest at your sides, and as you get more practice in speak-

ing you will soon notice that your hands are getting in action and offering aid to your delivery.

Gestures should come naturally and should be those that you habitually use. Later on you can improve them by study and by observing successful speakers at work. Clumsy and distracting gestures can be corrected if caught early, and the enhancing effects achieved by the body, face and hands can be cultivated.

12. FINE POINTS IN GOOD DELIVERY

Most beginners speak too rapidly. Speak slowly at first. You will acquire a better speed later on in your development and you will eventually learn to shift your oral gears into a variety of speeds. Speak clearly and distinctly. Don't slur your syllables, give each the full sound that it requires. Clear and careful enunciation and pronunciation are indispensable in effective speech. He who slurs his words usually slurs also his thinking. Furthermore, carelessness in one form of behavior infects every other, and, on the other hand, carefulness in one detail influences every other.

13. PAUSE AND EMPHASIS

On the printed page there are punctuation marks, paragraphs, chapter-end spaces and margins. This makes the page inviting and restful to one's eyes while a crowded and heavily printed page appears tiresome. A good delivery must also use some such devices to achieve the same effect upon the listeners. This is accomplished by the use of pause and emphasis. Cultivate the habit of pausing after an important point or phrase. Give your hearers a chance to catch up with you and also get a moment's rest. The brain gets very tired when driven at too rapid and continuous a pace.

One means of eliminating the annoying "—er" and other superfluous sounds, the utterly unnecessary "ands," "buts," "however," etc., is to remember that a period

ends the sentence and in speech you accomplish the same thing by closing the mouth. The mouth should not be open all of the time. In this oral form of punctuation, the brief moment of silence enables you to do a number of things. In silence you can better formulate the next sentence and idea, and the frequent use of pause also helps to moisten that "dry mouth" of yours more effectively than gallons of water.

Pause is a necessary element in emphasis. Shouting a phrase, pounding the table or railing, stamping or clapping are also physical aids to emphasis. Sometimes and with some speakers, these devices only emphasize the speaker's eccentricities and are therefore distracting. The more correct method of under-scoring a point is to reduce the tempo of your delivery and add plenty of space or pause between the words or phrases you wish to emphasize. And finally, this also makes possible the easy raising and lowering of the voice, the pleasing inflections of tones so essential to effective diction and delivery.

14. PERSONALITY

"To be a good speaker one must have an attractive personality." This is very true. The supposed lack of it is a source of much worry to beginners in public speaking. They believe that "personality" is some mysterious thing we come into being with, and that if one has not been born with it, all is hopeless. Perhaps. On the other hand, there is a growing suspicion that the elusive "gift" of personality is also acquired and that it may be just a happy combination of a variety of excellent qualities. As the behaviorist has it, all this may be the result of infinite conditioning. After all, what are the elements of charm in personality, particularly in a speaker? Are they not good manners, an easy and fluent delivery, a fine sense of proportion, a varied use of the voice, a cultivated and orderly mind, a vivid use of description and illustration? Few of these qualities are apparent in our youth,

many of them develop in the course of our growth, and, most probably all of them are acquired. If this is not true, then what need is there for this book and for teaching generally?

15. CHAIRMANSHIP

The average beginner generally gets his first chance to speak by acting as chairman. Good chairmanship is a fine art and at important meetings it is obvious that a beginner should not be used. But even an unimportant meeting may be damaged by an inexperienced chairman. If you are given the chance to act as chairman, you may as well be a good one, and you can use the following suggestions: always bear in mind that a chairman is only a presiding officer. In a hall meeting at which a lecturer is to be introduced, you must be brief and efficient. The audience came to hear him and not you. A few words of welcome; briefly something about the organization under whose auspices the meeting is being held, the purpose of the meeting, and the name of the speaker and his topic. Be careful to state the name and topic correctly. If you cannot trust your memory, write this out and read it to the audience. Don't over-praise the speaker and please don't tell the audience all about what the lecturer is going to say.

At a meeting where there are several speakers, the function of a chairman is different. At such a "mass" meeting, the chairman should prepare a short "keynote" address outlining the issue to be discussed and the reason for the gathering, and then let the speakers elaborate on the subject. The chairman should resist the temptation to make an additional speech after each speaker, and he should try to present each speaker with a terse introduction.

A chairman at a street meeting has still a different task. He is usually given time for a longer speech. Often, he must gather a crowd for the main speaker. Neverthe-

less, he should not make too long a speech, and go into a detailed or involved argument. My advice to beginners is to take a short topic, some item in the current news, some episode in our daily happenings, and interpret it in the light of our philosophy and program. A chairman can also make an excellent short talk on the why and wherefore of out-door propaganda, something about our organization, its work and varied activities.

16. THE TECHNIQUE OF OUT-DOOR MEETINGS

The value of street meetings is often exaggerated. It is questionable whether they are as effective as hall meetings, radio talks, canvassing and literature distribution. Street meetings often are but a cheap form of diversion to audiences, and generally cater to stragglers. However, since so many of us still believe that street meetings are effective, and as we must and will have them, let us have good ones. Street meetings are useful in advertising our cause and organization. They frequently stimulate a fine interest in our message and an enthusiasm for our program. Then, of course, our own members also get a grand thrill out of a successful meeting. When well arranged and advertised, a street meeting can be conducted as an educational forum and it can bring new members into our party. To achieve these results, I offer the following hints which I have learned during some twenty-two years of "soap-boxing."

First, the location. Select a street corner where the sidewalk is wide and where you have the best light. Don't put the platform too close to the corner. Go back at least 50 feet from the intersection of the streets so that many more people can stand before you. To have a big meeting, you must have plenty of space for a crowd to stand and yet not badly block traffic.

As the audience wants to see the speaker as well as hear him, he must be properly elevated. A box or a chair will not do. Only a few rows of people can stand around

and those behind them will dislocate their necks trying to get a glimpse of the orator. At the end of this book I am adding two "blue-prints" of the most practical types of street meeting platforms. These designs can be used by any carpenter; the platforms are easily made and are durable and inexpensive. The smaller one is the familiar "step-ladder" platform used by our New York City branches. It is light, easily carried and elevates the speaker three feet above the ground. We usually hang a banner or oil cloth sign down from the top rail and fasten a flag to one side of the platform—the side away from the audience so as to keep the flag out of the speaker's face. The other sketch describes a large platform that we use for huge rallies. It elevates the speaker six feet above the ground and has room for a microphone and a couple of chairs. Always use some decorations on the platform, a large clean flag (remember a large flag has more red in it than a small one) some bunting, signs and posters. Make the platform look colorful and attractive.

17. ADVERTISING

Out-door as well as in-door meetings should be well advertised. No matter how good the speaker or how important the meeting, people will not and cannot come unless they know about the event. It is not always difficult to get an announcement of a meeting in the newspapers. In smaller cities and towns this is very easy. Of course, our own press should always have such news. The announcements should be written briefly and neatly. Remember, newspapers, generally, want to print news and not arguments or propaganda. As to the latter, they will also print that, but they prefer to do so after the meeting. To accomplish this efficiently, the speaker or publicity agent should write a short and clear synopsis of what the speaker has said, the salient points at the beginning of the article.

Hand-bills distributed in the neighborhood of a street meeting will also enhance the attendance. With these and

press notices where obtainable and a post card mailing to some members or sympathizers in the vicinity, a comparatively quiet neighborhood or "dead" corner can have a splendid meeting. Another good practice is to hold street meetings regularly on the same corner and on the same night of each week. This habit enables many people to remember where and when our meetings are held and to bring other people along with them. Out-door forums are successfully conducted in this fashion and are as effective as those conducted in-doors. Meetings should start at the time advertised and a good street meeting should not last more than an hour and a half or two hours at the most. Learn to thank and dismiss an audience en masse instead of driving it home one person at a time.

18. SPEAKING OUT-DOORS

It is a common belief that one must shout to be heard in the open air. Strange as it may seem, people are no deafer in the street than they are in a hall. True, there are more noises to contend with on the streets than in-doors, nevertheless, they are seldom so loud that a street speaker must shout continually to be heard. If such a condition really does exist, it is a waste of energy to attempt a meeting on such a corner without a "loud speaker." No speaker can shout and talk sense at the same time. The increased blood pressure and the strain on the vocal cords is too great and the excitement unbalances one's thinking. Moreover, shouting is not always an effective means of drawing a crowd. Passers-by hearing nonsense at a distance are not always attracted to hear it at closer range. And finally, shouting soon cracks the voice and results in a painful hoarseness.

An experienced out-door speaker begins in an average conversational tone. He also speaks slowly and distinctly and increases in volume and speed as he progresses. He uses his lower register of tones rather than the higher pitch (this is especially necessary among women speak-

ers) and this manner gives the vocal cords an opportunity for easy adjustment and strengthens them for the rougher usage in the emphasis, climaxes and conclusion of the speech. Thus an experienced speaker begins at a whisper and ends with a roar. A beginner often starts with a roar and finishes with a sore throat. Instead of shouting to a distant audience and pleading with them to come closer, it is better to speak softly at first and thereby lure the curious to come nearer and thus find out what you are talking about. Watch an old medicine man play this trick!

19. ANSWERING QUESTIONS

An excellent feature of all propaganda meetings is the practice of encouraging and answering questions at the end of a talk. It is instructive to both speaker and audience. If a speaker foolishly rambles around a number of topics, he is bound to arouse many questions. This should be avoided, because the best of speakers can not do justice to a series of questions over a range of topics, where the answers are either too brief or too involved to satisfy. When a speaker confines himself to a limited topic and treats it comprehensively, he may get few or no questions. If he does get questions that pertain to the topic, he should regard them seriously, because such questions often expose some weakness in material, vagueness in thought or bad arrangement in his presentation. A good speaker heeds such questions, reexamines his speech and when he delivers it again he answers these questions in the course of his speech. In this practice, one soon develops a question-proof talk on a subject. It should also be understood that when a speaker sticks to a topic he can rule out all irrelevant questions, and an audience will usually stand by him and his judgment in this matter.

If a question invites too long and involved a discussion, it is sometimes better tactic not to answer it, and

instead, politely suggest some readings or references. The reason for this advice is that the speaker should not permit any secondary or additional discussion to blot out the impression made in his talk and destroy its effectiveness. In answering questions it is best to be brief. First make sure that you fully understand the question before you attempt to answer it. When in doubt ask the questioner to state it more clearly. If you cannot answer a question, frankly say so. A confession of ignorance is at least evidence of intelligence and honesty, while a bungled answer to a question is a bad exposure of ignorance. Moreover, there is no crime in not knowing. However, one should look up the matter without delay and inform oneself so that when such a question is again presented the answer can be given.

20. INTERRUPTIONS AND DISTURBANCES

It is difficult to advise how to act in every instance where there is a disturbance or an interruption at a meeting. Some situations respond to no sort of treatment and the meeting is broken up or must be adjourned. In most cases, however, good results can be obtained by some knowledge of crowd psychology. Such knowledge is indispensable to an efficient speaker. First, bear in mind that at most meetings the speaker always has the advantage. Unless very hostile, the audience regards the speaker more respectfully than it does anyone in the crowd. Then again, crowds are often fickle, and speakers must be careful. Secondly, when you are interrupted by some heckler or disturbed by some pest, keep a cool head. Don't lose your temper and don't abuse your tormentor. The audience thinks that you are the more intelligent of the two—encourage their belief. If you are interrupted in the course of your speech and if your audience is apparently with you, the best thing to do is to stop speaking for a few moments. Let the disturber annoy the audience and they will soon silence him or help you get rid of him or

permit your committee to get into action. If you insist on arguing with the disturber, you are heading for trouble, because the crowd may get intensely interested in the contest and anxious to know who will get the best of it. And if you are not so quick and clever as your heckler, you may get the worst of it and lose the control of your audience. To repeat, keep perfectly cool during a disturbance or interruption and you will always be able to think better and act more effectively.

21. LITERATURE, BOOK SALES, ETC.

Every propaganda meeting should have a supply of literature on hand. The best speech in itself is not fully effective. It is only a means to a larger end. The speech should stimulate a desire to know more about the subject; it should make the listener eager to hear and read more. Every good Socialist meeting must have leaflets, pamphlets and books for distribution and sale and the chairman or speaker must call attention to that fact. In offering books or pamphlets for sale, it is not enough to mention a title or two and the prices. It is also bad salesmanship to announce a variety of books and trust to luck that prospective customers may remember all the titles and prices and probably purchase something. The best results are obtained when the speaker selects one pamphlet for sale, preferably one related to the subject of his talk. The speaker must inform the audience about the contents of the book, something about its author and arouse a desire and a demand for it. Of course, a good salesman is one who is familiar with the merits of his wares, and every Socialist speaker should know the contents of the books and papers we offer for sale.

The best method for distributing leaflets (free literature) is by house to house canvass and by mail. Handing out leaflets to passers-by on the street or on the outskirts of a street meeting is a wasteful practice. Many people merely glance at a leaflet thrust into their hands and

throw it away. It is all right to distribute hand-bills in this fashion. They usually have a very limited amount of printed matter and large type. Hand-bills announcing a meeting can be read at a glance. A propaganda leaflet requires more time and concentration to read, and its receiver should be in a receptive mood. Furthermore, such leaflets are too expensive to waste as "throw-aways." The speaker or chairman at a meeting, indoor as well as outdoor, should call attention to the fact that a good leaflet is being distributed, say a few words about its contents and urge every one in the audience to take one or more copies and aid us in the most efficient distribution of the leaflet.

The prime objective of every meeting is to obtain members for our Party. A strong appeal to join our ranks should be the ringing conclusion of every speech and meeting. Our Party press must also be boosted and subscriptions for it solicited. Wherever and whenever possible and advisable, an appeal should be made for funds to carry on our propaganda and campaigns. Obviously, the appeal for a collection should be made at the highest climax of the speech or meeting. Most speakers call for a collection at the end of their talks. Some do it at some time in the course of their speeches, and at meetings where there are a number of speakers, it is good practice to make the collection speech just before introducing the "celebrity." To repeat, however, the best collection can be obtained at the moment when the audience is in the friendliest and warmest mood.

22. CONCLUSION

A few final words to my comrades who would add their voices to the service of our great cause. An efficient Socialist speaker must be very adaptable. He must always try to understand the composition and nature of the audience before him. When in doubt, a few inquiries of the chairman, a chat with some members of the committee

in charge of the meeting will often help to an effective adjustment. Knowing the character of the audience should prevent the danger of talking "over their heads." It will also help you use such illustrations and material that will establish that intimate relationship between speaker and audience so essential to a successful meeting.

Also, it can not be repeated too often that to be a good speaker one must be constantly alert to every suggestion and criticism. One must study the manner and technique of all good speakers and emulate their best qualities. Prof. H. A. Overstreet advises: "Look *at* your audience. Find what *interests them*. Never make an audience feel inferior. Keep your audience thinking along with you. Think along with your audience. Use humor humorously. Never be angry at the audience, only with them. Cultivate a voice that can be endured. Keep off the monotone. Do not let your appearance occupy the foreground. Eliminate distressing mannerisms. Let your speech march. Organize your speech into groups and larger groups. Give an effect of rhythmic movement. Close with a snap!"

One must be aware of every important article and book on subjects of interest, particularly those dealing with public speaking and crowd psychology. One must strive to master the particular subjects that one frequently speaks about. A good speaker or lecturer must be an authority or a specialist on the subjects he speaks upon.

Lastly, let me acknowledge the assistance and express my gratitude to the following comrades who have helped me in the preparation of this book: to William E. Bohn, Samuel H. Friedman and William Morris Feigenbaum who read my manuscript and offered valuable suggestions; to Kurt Dietl and Sol Salkind who drew the sketches for the outdoor meeting platforms; to Roselle Fraiman who so graciously types and corrects my manuscripts, and of course, to the numerous speakers, teachers and active Socialists to whom I owe all that I am and all that I have.

APPENDIX

HOW TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT A CLASS IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

This manual contains the lessons and method of instruction used in our class in public speaking at the Rand School of Social Science. Like other text books it may have some value to readers and students generally. It should be helpful to those who have had some practice in public speaking, and especially to those who are willing to begin. The manual can also be used as a text book for classes in public speaking with or without the benefit of a qualified teacher. To meet this need I am adding this short chapter as a guide to those locals, branches or groups that may want to organize public speaking classes.

Please bear in mind that one learns *to speak by speaking*. Practice is nine-tenths of the road to perfection. The best manual is valueless unless the beginner gets plenty of practice. An excellent speaker emerges only out of many years of experience and study. Class work or practice before small groups to begin with, is almost indispensable in the making of a speaker. Let me, therefore, offer a few bits of advice as to procedure.

Where the class can have the services of a teacher the problem is simplified. The teacher may follow all or some of my suggestions, and of course, use such other methods as may be more desirable or more practical. If no experienced teacher is available, the group should get the services of some fairly capable speaker or class leader.

Each student should have a copy of this manual. At the first session the class should read sections 1, 2, 3, 4. Following this reading, I would write a controversial question on a blackboard and urge every member of the class to rise and state his or her opinion and discuss the question. Simple controversies may be aroused around such questions as: How can we best interest others with our message? By speeches, by large mass meetings, by lectures, by small meetings in homes, by leaflets, by posters or by radio? Must we employ different methods to reach

women as compared to men? How can we best approach young people? Can and should we teach Socialism to children?

Don't let the "bright pupils" monopolize the discussion. No one should be permitted to speak a second time until every student has had a chance to speak.

After a couple of sessions in this kind of impromptu and extemporaneous practice every student should prepare a five or ten minute talk about himself under the title: "How I became a Socialist," or "Why I Am a Socialist," or a "Trade Unionist," or a "Cooperator," or, generally, "How I Became Interested in Radical Ideas." These speeches are to be delivered to the class. Students should not write out their speeches and read from manuscript or deliver them from memory. These methods are not "public speaking." Memorized speaking belongs to the field of elocution and the dramatic arts. Modern methods in practical public speaking demand the planning or outlining of a speech in brief phrases with headings and sub-headings and the free conversational style in delivery.

The class should hear a limited number of these speeches at each session and all students should make critical notes of every speech. After hearing several speakers the class should close its session with a frank and yet sympathetic appraisal of the defects as well as the good qualities of each speech.

About the time that most of the students have delivered this first talk it is advisable to get them started on other topics. These should be longer and less personal talks and there should be no difficulty in finding suggestions for an infinite variety of subjects. Care should be taken in helping the student to select some topic concerning which the student has some interest or knowledge. Discourage, at first, attempts in speaking on difficult and involved subjects. A beginner has a better chance to make good in a relatively simple topic and in which he has some intimate knowledge.

Before these second talks are to be delivered it is necessary that the student read carefully and understandingly sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 of this manual. The teacher or class leader should make certain that the suggestions relative to the collection of data, the arrangement of the material, the writing and use of outlines and notes are being followed. Students should be required to write or type their notes and permit their examination by the teacher and members of the class. By this practice good outlines and notes used by some speakers become excellent visual instruction to all others.

Furthermore, a comparison of outlines or notes will often bring out the distinction between a poor and a good speech. By the time a number of such talks are heard, analyzed and criticized the class will progress in interest and achievement. At the termination of the class such students as have made the best progress should be encouraged to keep in constant practice. They should be given every opportunity to act as chairmen and to deliver talks to audiences, indoor or outdoors.

Let me repeat once more, only practice can develop a successful speaker. Teachers and text-books are a help but the experience that comes with years of talking to audiences is by far the greatest source of instruction.

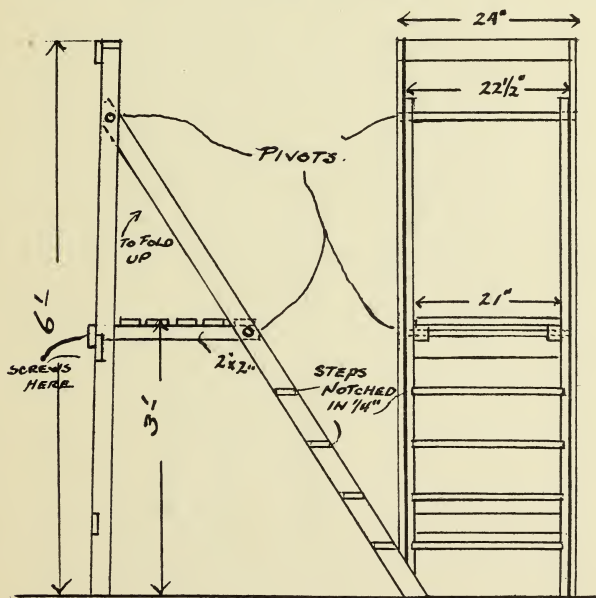
AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON OUTLINES

There are numerous books on public speaking and debating that contain detailed and model outlines. Chapters 7-8-9 in this manual cover the subject in brief but there is always a need for fresher material. A welcome tendency is developing in the Socialist Party towards the preparation of outlines, notes and data for its speakers. Our National Office (549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.) has rendered some fine service in this direction and it should be encouraged to increase this service. Some State and Local organizations are also following suit. Outlines for study courses have been prepared by the Rand School and the National office. The League for Industrial Democracy (112 East 19th Street, New York City) is giving

splendid assistance to speakers and writers with their many pamphlets and publications. For a very fine collection of outlines covering a variety of live and timely topics, the class should use its recent booklets "Looking Forward—Discussion Outlines," 1932-1933 editions; price 15 cents each.

Finally, material for speeches can always be found in the Campaign Hand Books published from time to time by the Party and, of course, in the issues of the Socialist and Labor press. No informed Socialist speaker can afford to miss a single issue of "The New Leader" (7 East 15th Street, New York City).

PLATFORM FOR OUT DOOR MEETINGS.



← TO FOLD TOGETHER

MATERIAL NEEDED

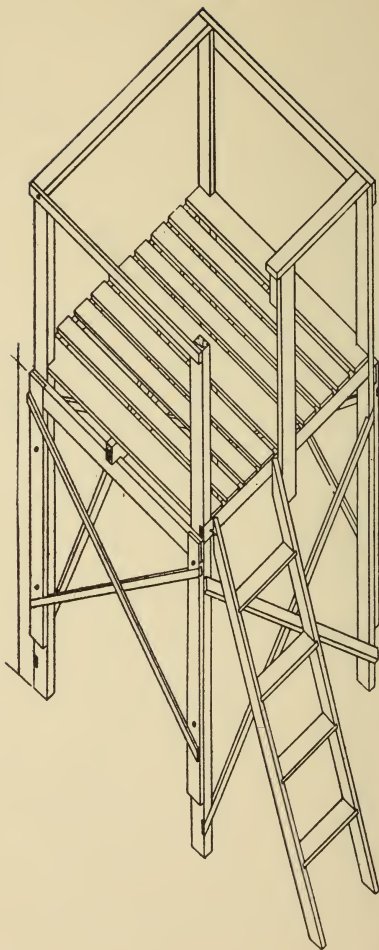
55 LIN. FEET $2\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{3}{4}$ " WHITE PINE

2 - 24" LENGTHS $\frac{3}{4}$ " DOWELS FOR PIVOTS.

2 - 20" " 2" x 2" FOR FLOOR

2" BRADS - AND $2\frac{3}{4}$ " #10 WOOD SCREWS

USE SCREWS IN FRONT WHERE WEIGHT RESTS.



This platform is 4 feet square, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet up to where spaker stands, 3 feet from there up to the top of railings. Total height 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet.

PAMPHLETS FOR DISTRIBUTION AT STREET AND MASS MEETINGS

SWASTIKA OVER GERMANY—*By Siegfried Lipschitz*
15c—\$7.50 per hundred, \$4.00 for fifty copies

UNITED FRONT—*By August Tyler*
5c—\$3.00 per hundred, \$1.75 for fifty copies

A WORKERS' WORLD—*By David P. Berenberg*
5c—\$3.00 per hundred, \$1.75 for fifty copies

ESSENTIALS OF SOCIALISM—*By August Claessens*
5c—\$3.00 per hundred, \$1.75 for fifty copies

SHOULD THE AMERICAN WORKERS FORM A POLITICAL
PARTY OF THEIR OWN?

Morris Hillquit says: YES—*Matthew Woll* says: NO
10c—\$6.00 per hundred, \$3.50 for fifty copies

SHOULD TRADE UNIONS BE REGULATED BY LAW?
—*A Debate*

Morris Hillquit says: NO—*Samuel Untermeyer* says: YES
10c—6c each in orders of twenty-five or more.

SOCIALIST FUNDAMENTALS—*By David P. Berenberg*
50c—\$2.50 for 10 copies.

WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY—*By James Oneal*
Paper 25c, Cloth 75c.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM—*By James Oneal*
\$1.50

BOLSHEVISM AT A DEADLOCK—*By Karl Kautsky*
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LABOR AND FARMER PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES,
1828-1928—*By Nathan Fine*
\$3.00

AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1932
\$3.00

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE
LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
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no. 6

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR AND PEACE

By

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Introduction

By

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By August Claessens

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SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR AND PEACE

Introduction

Progressive educators have abandoned the common opinion that the main function of education is to impart more facts to the learner. A sounder philosophy has made clear to even the most conservative mind that the attitudes, viewpoints, and dispositions to action which were so long considered mere by-products of schooling actually stand among the chief outcomes of instruction. Change a man's attitude on some fundamental human issue such as war and you have altered his personality in a much more profound way than if you merely tell him for the first time that Philadelphia is a city with two million inhabitants.

There is an endless number of ethical and economic reasons for abjuring war, but it is rather hard for a professional psychologist to observe militarists of all shades appealing indirectly to his own subject for support of their position. This is usually done by stating that it is man's nature to fight, that there is a biological impulse to combat which demands expression, and that bloody conflicts between nations are simply part of the world order. A more perfect example of muddle-headed thinking can hardly be found. It is true that most men have a self-assertive drive and that they tend to become angry whenever any strong desire is thwarted—but it is a far cry from this to the colossal mechanized slaughter of Verdun and the Argonne Forest. Man's anger and the desire to overcome obstacles can be just as deeply aroused *against* war and its consequences as *for* war and its accompaniments. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MENTAL HYGIENE, THE SEVEREST INDICTMENT AGAINST WAR AS A PERVERTED SOCIAL "HABIT" IS THAT IT THWARTS MORE HUMAN URGES THAN IT FUL-

FILLS. Every major value that the race has evolved is sacrificed at the altar of the minor "good" of National Pride.

The present pamphlet by August Claessens is an attempt to modify human behavior so that the prospect of perpetual peace will become more alluring than the ever-present threat of international war. He has done an effective piece of work, every item of which is supported by the best thought of our time. Although duly elected to the Assembly of the State of New York, Mr. Claessens was denied his seat by his war-mad colleagues in the Legislature because, like most other Socialists, he remained a determined pacifist. But it is not enough to commit oneself negatively to an anti-war policy. This has been the mistake of many church and women's organizations. No scientific physician contents himself with tinkering with symptoms. If he is to cure his patient's disease, he must remove the causes of the malady. This the Socialist Party proposes to do. As Jean Jaurés aptly said, "Capitalism breeds war as surely as the thunder-clouds hold lightning."

Studies by Thurstone, Allport, and other social psychologists show that the process of changing human attitudes need not be the haphazard affair it has been in the past. Careful measurements indicate that a single effective "movie" can change an audience's pronounced dislike for a certain nationality to benevolent liking, and *vice versa*. Will this knowledge be used for constructive purposes to re-shape society for the better, or will it be employed by the Powers of Darkness? Psychologists demonstrated the awful efficacy of their science during the World War; no one knows better than they the tremendous possibilities which it and the other technologies hold for the cause of peace. Toward which goal shall they be directed? The answer rests with the average man to whom this booklet is addressed.

GEORGE W. HARTMANN,

Preface

This booklet is one more contribution to the growing literature of protest against war. It contains much that has been said before. Nevertheless there can be and should be no limit to or cessation of discussion of war. The tremendous output of anti-war literature in recent years is a most heartening promise of the coming of a war-less civilization. To the countless thousands of books, pamphlets and leaflets more and ever more must be added. We must increase the volume of protest and intensify the revolt against war.

Moreover, such newer material or method in approach in this necessary campaign should be more than welcome and it is my hope that this booklet will help a little in exposing the brutality, futility and savagery of warfare and hasten its abolition.

Social Attitudes

The understanding of human behavior has been greatly enhanced by recent studies in social psychology. Within the last decade remarkable researches have been made into the nature and content of the average mentality and out of the many investigations has developed an exceedingly helpful concept known as "social attitudes."

Stated briefly, "social attitudes" are ways of thinking, the grounding of inclinations, the foundation for action or behavior in an individual. These attitudes or dispositions to behavior originate in the culture of the group. The social environment lays the basis for the individual psychology. Our outlook upon life, our attitudes to economic, social, political and other problems are conditioned by the impress of the numerous influences that surround us. The concept of social attitudes emphatically declares that individual and social behavior or the disposition to individual or social behavior can only arise out of the stimulation of elements in the culture of a group, community or larger social entity.

This new method of approach and study in psychology is not only more accurate and fruitful in its analysis and interpretation of "human nature," but it also presents a more hopeful picture of the potentialities of the human mind and its very great plasticity. The science of social psychology has taken a long step beyond the limitations of the functional and introspective psychologies and it has well-nigh annihilated their categories of instincts and inherited emotions. The nature of man is no longer regarded as rigidly fixed by birth or race heritage. Contrary to the platitudes, human nature is not the same everywhere and in every age. It is apparently the same only where the "same" social stimuli condition the individual.

The inescapable conclusion derived from this newer approach in social psychology is that just as one social environment can condition a certain set of social attitudes and types of behavior so can another and different environment or culture condition human nature to different modes of behavior. An anti-social environment does not stimulate pro-social responses. An extremely chauvinist culture, a distressing economic situation, etc., is a soil hostile to the growth of pacifist and internationalist ideals. Nevertheless, a persistent and growing propaganda along with such advantages as arise out of the contradictions and tribulations of a society in travail, can eventually grow powerful enough to condition new social attitudes.

Social attitudes are basically laid in the environment of the young. Most effective are the influences in what psychologists term the primary groups, namely: the influences of the parents upon the child, later the school, the playmates, relatives and other adults. A little later come the more powerful stimulations of our larger social environment, the impact of general education, the molding influence and propaganda of the press, radio, movies, pulpit, etc., and the absorption of attitudes and ideals through all sorts of contacts and organizations.

One can be appalled at the crushing might of these tremendous influences conditioning the average mind. In fact,

some psychologists are so dismayed by this observation that they are dubious about the possibility of any thorough social revolution. This is, however, a timorous reponse. There is abundant evidence that social attitudes do change. The Hoover Report on "Recent Social Trends" (McGraw-Hill, N. Y.) is a splendid compilation of research on this subject. It shows how old attitudes weaken and how new ones are adopted. All social attitudes towards sex, race and society are in flux and transition. And this is also true of our attitudes towards war and peace.

"War Is Inevitable!"

The foundation for this belief is to be found in the culture of our society. The child gains this impression at first in his early social environment, from his parents, playmates and others who in turn express the traditions, fears and ideals of their environment. Professor Ernest W. Burgess: "It would be interesting to know how far the potential strength of militarism in this country rests upon family tradition" (Chapter 8, "Social Attitudes" edited by Kimball Young, Henry Holt & Co., New York). It is quite easy to observe also how a child acquires attitudes, opinions and prejudices from those in close association with it. How easily the fact of war is conveyed to the child through toys, games, pictures and all the paraphernalia of warfare that intrude upon its growing comprehension. And then comes school and its militarist teaching of history too often solely in terms of wars and battles, and its vicious chauvinism that passes for patriotism. While an occasional movie exposes the stupidity and brutality of war, the greater number of them, while not always pro-militaristic do nevertheless picture war and militarism as natural and as acceptable as the very clouds and trees.

Early in life the little toddler is taken to see parades; and no matter what the holiday, a generous array of militia is on display, and no matter how serene and joyous the assemblage the marching men carry with them all the murderous tools of war. At public functions and festivities, yea, even at weddings and funerals, our militia comes fully armed for

slaughter. To dedicate a square, a building, a bridge or monument they trot out the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery, and the air forces, and, bless their hearts, if we are near enough to deep water they bring in the navy too.

Is it then so difficult to understand why the average person is more likely to grow up war-minded than pacifist? Surrounded and pounded by these inescapable impressions it is very obvious that the average human would regard war, in spite of its known brutality, stupidity and futility, as inevitable, natural, innate, and as certain as life and death itself. Oh, yes, every such person speaks of peace. They prefer peace and love peace. They yearn for peace rather than for war. They fear war. But their conception of peace is that of a fortunate interlude. Restful, like an untuned moment of music. "But, thou fool," they say to the pacifist, "you cannot have all rest in music or in civilization. Life is brutal, society is savage. War—may we be spared from it for a while—is nevertheless inherent and inevitable!"

Thus one sees the building up of a psychology that accepts war and in intensive cultivation even works for it. In contrast to these tremendous pro-war influences in conditioning social attitudes the propaganda of anti-war and internationalism is as yet too weak to create effective anti-war attitudes.

The Economic Environment

The problem is not essentially a psychological one. The mind of man reflects and reconstructs the elements of his complex surroundings. His ideas, acceptances and ideals are a product of direct environmental pressures and the contribution of his social heritage, the traditions, folkways, etc., which are part of his social environment—the culture of his group or society.

Our economic society seethes with conflict and struggle. To obtain a livelihood one must be predatory. You don't work with your fellow man so that you may both get along. You have to work against him, beat him to it or out of it if you want the better job. There is so little that is cooperative and pro-social in our daily economic struggle. Rather it is a

constant struggle to maintain one's self and one's family. Our competitive economic society encourages personal warfare and offers its rewards only to the victor. In the midst of the grossest inequalities caused by physical, mental and social handicaps our statesmen and educators tell us about an "equality of opportunity." Fraud, connivance, collusion and brutality are more often rewarded than the opposite virtues. Our society is an acquisitive one. "Get what you can, honestly if you can, but see to it that you get it." Personal rivalry expands into domestic rivalry. Brother against brother and family against family. What a nourishing soil to nurture the seeds of world peace and cooperation!

Then it is class against class! Unions, pickets, strikes, boycotts, starvation, assaults and riots! And arrayed against the workers are hired thugs, police, militia, gas bombs, injunctions, jails and death. Here also are the peaceful interludes. At times the volcano sleeps. But soon the pent up feelings awaken and flame and ruin follows.

From the economic struggle of man against man, class against class, it is only a logical and inevitable step toward warfare between nation and nation. The struggle is for markets to sell goods that more often could be consumed at home. Profits must be had, and the fight is ever on to get them. If another nation's profit-mongers are in our way they are our "natural" enemies. Sooner or later we (get the "we") have to fight them. And our munitions manufacturers will sell arms to "our" enemies so they can butcher us with our home products.

Or "we" have surplus capital that itches for investment. Invest it abroad. Let them beware and pay us dividends. Damn them if they default. Let them take heed of our growing and efficient armament. Show them pictures of our glorious navy, our great air fleets, our standing and potential armies. With flags waving and martial music let us awe them. And out of our universities will come orators that will voice the call for our national "defense."

But then we must have spheres of influence, territory for natural resources and expansion for our growing population.

Our economic disorder makes for general insecurity and the general insecurity bedevils our individual, social and national existence. What fine stimulation for a peace-loving psychology!

The psychological reaction to all this is fear, hatred, fascism and arrogant nationalism. The poor lone individual is beset with fear. There is the fear for his job and his neighbor who covets it. Fear for his boss and his boss' boss. Fear for his general insecurity and the insecurity of his country. Fear for peoples of all other countries who may sooner or later come to grips with us.

Then there is the fear of invasion and the fear of a new domination and exploitation. The fear for what we don't know is often more devastating than for what we know and have. Oh, the brutality and atrocities of foreign peoples! The danger of pillage and ravage upon those of us who are always maltreated at home! And then a foreign despot may deprive us of our liberties, gas and club us on strike and clap us into jail. No, by all the gods, we will not be conquered. We—We—We—the whole of the disinherited, exploited and abused will fight and kill other disinherited, exploited and abused working men so that our respective masters may gain advantage.

Instincts and Trash

With such a cruel conditioning, the psychology of the average person may well appear to be inherently warlike. It is truly amazing that trained observers and noted psychologists should have been, and many of them still are, so utterly blind as to proclaim the causes of war as instinctive. Much rubbish has been written about the "instincts of the herd," the natural pugnacity of men, and why men fight. Professor John Dewey has done a fine job in deflating some of this bunk in his provocative little book "Human Nature and Conduct" (The Modern Library, New York).

There still remains a worthwhile task for some willing anthropologist: to examine comparatively war-like, semi-war-

like and peaceful peoples and to describe the economic and cultural backgrounds of such peoples. Such a study should reveal some interesting and useful information on the subject. Not only would primitive civilization shed considerable light on this question, but it may also lay to rest that astonishing biological puzzle as to what rearrangement of chromosomes make a peace-loving people war-like and vice-versa. And why the "spineless" pacifist Chinamen blossomed out into constant warfare since their contact with Western civilization. Or why the former feudal Japanese have, in less than a century, become as proficient militarists as our noble Nordics.

It is here that biology and the instinctive apparatus of man fail to qualify. The ghost was laid most admirably by Professor Ellsworth Faris in his terse and brilliant summary: "Warfare makes men warlike. Churches make men religious" ("Social Attitudes" edited by Kimball Young—Chapter one). The inference is clear. Our behavior patterns are habits built out of the economic and cultural environment. War and every other institution develops in men the desirable traits. In the absence of any institution, be it music, art or romantic love, men no more miss these adjuncts than Eskimos miss their spinach.

There is no denying that men will fight. So will any other animal. But there is a world of difference between an ordinary fight and warfare. I get mad and poke you on the nose. You get angry and take a swing at my facial projection. Then we may sulk and daydream the combat into heroic proportions and quite often we may shake hands shortly thereafter, buy each other a drink and laugh off the whole ridiculous episode. But in warfare the fellows who insult each other don't do the fighting. Millions of innocent and peaceful men must slaughter each other. The real cause is seldom clear and the real culprits escape without a scratch. If only the war makers would kill each other off in the next world war, that war would certainly not be stupid or futile.

Warfare is an institution in certain stages of mankind's economic and cultural development and it will disappear when the basis for it is removed.

Attitudes and Crises

Our primitive impulses and fears and our simple antipathies and prejudices are usually quiescent in normal and peaceful times. Unless they are cultivated by aggressive propaganda these elemental emotions are usually under personal or social control. But in the extreme stimulation of a crisis these fears, antipathies and prejudices are magnified into hatreds and stark madness.

War, or the hectic preparation for war, is just such a crisis. In a remarkably short time there is aroused a public hysteria and general madness aptly termed the "war psychosis." Its effects are as debilitating as shell shock, which, it is important to remember, is not always caused by shells.

The psychosis created by a crisis is manipulated as is the crisis itself. We say that "war is in the air." If it is, it is because men have put it there. Our jingos, "patriots" and publicists get into action. They embark upon a super publicity campaign. High-powered propaganda gets under way. Flags, posters, slogans, speeches! "Our country needs you—we are all one now." "My country, right or wrong." More flags, speeches, posters, slogans and from the radio, press, pulpit and rostrum waves of stimulation arouse the multitudes. "It won't be long now." "No slackers"—and then the parades and huge demonstrations.

War is declared! A moment's quiet, the shock temporarily paralyzes. Horror, fear and rage sweep like a tornado. The whole social situation is now keyed up for the worst. Mobilization begins. Troops are on the move. More flags, music and speeches. Our boys are now on their way to camps, to ships, to distant shores. Until now we were not personally touched, the war stimulation affected us only generally. But now *our* men are in it! We can't stay neutral! We can't take this horrible thing philosophically! "Over the top now." "Let's all get behind this war so that it will end quickly." "Don't you want your boys back safely?" "This is a war to end war!" "To make the world safe for democracy—for humanity—for peace!"

The raging madness mounts daily. Wild, irrational nation-

alism surges. The foe is bitterly hated, lied about and maligned. We believe every thing and anything. In our psychosis we imagine atrocities and persecutions. In the nervous excitement and prostration we lower our physical resistance, we don't sleep or eat properly and epidemics of influenza gather more deaths than battlefields.

In the last war and in that last emotional storm there were Socialists, radicals, pacifists, conscientious objectors and war resisters who attempted to oppose the storm. These were heroes, and for the first time in the long history of warfare, these men and women did make an attempt to defy the tide. Of course their efforts seemed so pitiful and so apparently futile. An ant trying to halt an elephant! Of course, they were ruthlessly crushed, executed or jailed. They were so few who withstood the psychosis. Multitudes of others upon whom we depended were swept into the maelstrom. Of course the Socialist movement in most countries was overwhelmed and carried off in the undertow. So were the trade unions, the cooperators, the peace-lovers, the humanitarians and the churches of all religions. The wonder is not that they all were. The greatest fact and contribution to human history is that for the first time thousands of men and women remained sane in a supreme crisis and dared to try to stop the "inevitable"! And when these thousands grow to millions there will be no more war.

Conditioning Peace Attitudes

In spite of tremendous difficulties these heroic war-resisters in our late world madness did present a new social attitude toward war. They did condition themselves and some others into a new type of behavior. They developed new idealistic objectives, they expanded their local ideals and patriotism into greater and wider compass. They did not do so entirely out of their reasoning or emotions. Rather, they sensitively reflected the many economic, social, scientific and artistic trends towards internationalism. And war is in direct contradiction to these trends, hence the growing psychological, social and economic opposition to war.

The psychological wing of the war against war operates in the field of education and propaganda. Its function is to create newer social attitudes towards war and peace. Its technique is still experimental. Since pacifism, war resistance and internationalism are widely characterized as massed cowardice, we must, as Hinton says, "make peace heroic." Since warfare is considered honorable, holy and noble, we must propagandize the suggestion of Prof. James and find "moral equivalents for war." The use of photographs of the mutilations of men, the ruin and desolation caused by battle and the pitiful plight of non-combatants must be carefully weighed. These ghastly mementos are also used by war-mongers and they may stimulate the fears that lend support to greater "preparedness" and another war to save us from these horrors!

But men don't love war. Some militarists may. Men may crave for excitement and adventure and find it in war. Many find it also in hunting harmless animals. Let these heroes help rid the world of bugs, fleas, and mosquitoes. What a grand and glorious adventure! Maybe science can find some way of enlarging the image of a bed bug or a microbe so that there may be more of a thrill in shooting or spearing it. And for those who find moral stimulation in killing their fellow men in cold-blooded warfare, let us substitute for them a new adventure—let them fight war and the war makers. In militant pacifism there will surely be enough thrills, dangers and adventures to satisfy any would-be hero.

We must expose war, debunk war and ridicule war. Expose its utter stupidity, its senseless brutality, and lamentable futility! We must serve emphatic notice upon the war makers that they are going to have a tougher time on the next trip. We will muster our increasing forces to stop them. We must arouse the solidarity of labor to assert and prove itself and refuse to kill fellow workers of other lands and to do its utmost to prevent the manufacture and shipment of munitions of warfare. When working people refuse to kill working people or make or ship materials for that purpose—*there can be no war*. It will then be all over except for the peace parade!

Social attitudes, propaganda and education are processes of conditioning for action or active behavior. Individual behavior is of little consequence in a complex social situation. The powerful and effective instrument in social behavior is organization. And the more mighty and powerful the organization the more effective is its action.

The Socialist movement in all lands is the most mighty and potent organization against war. It uses all the channels of popular appeal, the vote, petition, parade and demonstrations to arouse public opinion. With books, newspapers, lectures and mass meetings it carries on a constant propaganda against capitalism and war. It has marshalled together forces of peace in a number of recent crises in several countries and prevented the outbreak of war.

True, the Socialist movement failed to stop the World War. Everything and everybody else also failed. Hundreds of Socialists were jailed, some of their leaders were shot and their press and organizations were shattered and destroyed. However, the Socialist movement emerged from the war much more powerful, aggressive and hopeful. Fascism answered its challenge and for the time the dictators and their armed hosts are ruthless in their persecution of our comrades. But they cannot and will not stop us. The "Iron Heel" cannot stand indefinitely on our bodies. It will stay just long enough to be recorded as a gigantic "putsch."

Socialists are not just pacifists, although they will fight war, fight against preparedness for war, fight to stop war and fight for world peace. While most Socialists love the ideal of non-resistance they will, like all other human beings, resist with all their strength and with their lives any attack upon themselves, their families, their organizations and their hard-won democratic rights. Socialists are revolutionists and not mere pacifists. They aim to abolish capitalist ownership, exploitation and domination, the great factor in modern war. When Socialists succeed in socializing the basic resources and industries of all modern nations and abolish the predatory profit system and establish a world relation of cooperative and Socialist commonwealths, there can be no more war.

Join us and help us speedily to realize these great aims.

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no. 7

WHAT ORGANIZED LABOR WANTS

A Popular Description of
Trade Union Philosophy,
Economics and Ideals.

By

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I. BE WISE—ORGANIZE

A talkative old busy-body was visiting a State institution for the insane. "How do you manage to keep your patients so well behaved?", she asked one of the orderlies. "We control them pretty well," replied the husky. "Suppose one of these people gets out of control, then what do you do?" "Madam," he said, "I can take care of any trouble-maker in this institution." "Yes, yes," continued the old lady, "but suppose two or three of the lunatics start a rumpus at the same time, then what do you do?" "Lady," he growled, "I can handle a dozen of these folks anytime." He looked as if he could. "But suppose the whole crowd organized and began an attack, then what would you do?" The giant lost his composure. "Lady, one more question and we will hold you for observation. If you had any sense you would know that nuts don't organize!"

The first sign of sanity is the recognition of the power of organization. Alone, no man or woman amounts to much. Five fingers are weak little instruments, but when you close them tightly you have a fist. And when you show a fist you mean business. In unity there is strength and power. Sawdust is unorganized wood. A cop's club is organized sawdust. Sand is pulverized rock and rocks are organized sand. Or look at the broom, for example. The business end of the broom is straw. What a miserable thing is a single straw. How frail, how brittle! But the broom maker sews together a thousand weak straws and attaches them to a handle, and lo, a miracle, a *broom*! With the straws *organized* in the broom you can make the dust fly and the vermin scam.

It is a common argument heard in every trade that "you can't organize the element in our industry." Every industry

thinks it has the worst element. This is an illusion. You can organize most anything and anybody. For example, take mud—slimy, sticky, dirty mud—is there anything looser than that? And yet mud is just what the brickmakers take out of a clay bank. They shape it and bake it, and presto, you have bricks. If any one throws mud at you, oh well. . . . But if bricks fly through the air you'd better duck! Now if we can organize mud, why can't we organize the element in your industry?

Human beings are much different than wood, stone, straw or brick. Men and women are not bone, flesh and blood alone. They also possess spirit. When alone you are quite a different person than you are in a crowd. A crowd has a wonderful effect in transforming the individual. Just study your own behavior when you are out with a crowd. Aren't you the devil! Alone you are a timid soul. In a union we have all of our shop mates with us. In our local union there are hundreds of workers of other shops banded together with us. In our international union thousands upon thousands of workers like us, in many cities and states, are part of our great family. Our combined resources give us strength. Our solidarity gives us courage and militancy. The great size of our army gives us the hope and inspiration to fight for our rights and the assurance that we can and must win.

Every intelligent person knows that modern progress depends on organization. Groups of people must deal with other groups. A group has no respect for an individual. An individual stands no chance against a group. Individuals can bargain with one another only if they face each other on the basis of equality. One employer may bargain with another employer. One worker may trade with another worker. But no worker can bargain fairly with an employer, much less with a corporation. Workers must collectively face their employers. The bargain must be clinched for every worker in the plant to insure protection for one and protection for all. That is why it is preferable to have only one union in an in-

dustry so that the boss must deal with one authority and the agreement with him must cover all the employees.

You want better wages, shorter hours and some security on the job. Now that's all to the good. A fellow that wants something is much more alive than the one who takes what he can get. But you can't get what you want alone. You have so much more chance of getting it and securing it when you help other men to get the same. The I.L.G.W.U. has a fine poster showing a luscious bunch of ripe yellow bananas and over the picture is the slogan "Stick to the Bunch or you will get Skinned!"

The greatest drawback to getting workers into a union is their lack of confidence in themselves, their fears and their ignorance of their own power. There is a fable of the two frogs which illustrates the point. Two frogs once found themselves in a can of milk (never mind how they got there). They swam around a while and found it difficult to get out of the can. One frog, a member of the international brotherhood of "what's the use's" gave up the contest and sank to the bottom of the can. He quit. The other was a game creature and he kept on swimming around. As he swam he kicked and as he kicked he swam. And as he kicked and kicked he churned up the milk and little flecks of butter began to float beside him. He kicked some more and soon the little lumps joined other lumps until one large lump of butter floated about. The frog climbed up on that island of fat and with one leap he was over the top and out.

The moral is—kick and you'll get somewhere. Don't kick and you will be the foot-ball. Ask for something, fight for something, and you must gain, even if it's only your self-respect. Ask for nothing and you will get it in double portions.

We will show how the labor movement views the subject of exploitation, wages, hours and job-control and how organized labor helps the workers in obtaining some security in the struggle for existence.

II. EXPLOITATION

Some people say that employers "rob" their employees and that the present industrial system is a highly organized "hold-up." There is some truth in this argument. What is untrue is that the terms "rob," "steal" and "hold-up" imply conscious and deliberate wrong-doing, wilful and malicious outrage. Now, you don't want to call your boss a crook, a robber or a thief. Sometimes he is all that and some more.

Generally, however, you know he is a victim of circumstance, a cog in a badly managed competitive system. He drives you, but he is also driven by his competitors and jobbers. He wants to make a living. His wife and family expect much from him. Being a boss, he feels that he is entitled to a better living than his workers. He can't make this kind of a living by working for a boss and being exploited, so he goes into business to exploit others.

The dictionary defines "exploitation" as "making use of anything or anybody for one's own profit." This is not exactly robbery. Just what it is can be seen in the following illustration.

A boss goes into business. The first thing he must have (besides gall) is capital. As capital means money, he must have or get money. Usually he begins with some of his own. Then he cleans out his relatives and his wife's relatives and borrows from friend and foe. As he deposits this in the bank, he has collateral for loans and credit for business. Of course, he doesn't get loans for nothing. He must pay interest to the bank and may be to the relatives. With this money or capital he makes nothing. Money doesn't make money, and the interest charges soon make it grow less. The boss must get busy to put this money to work. But as money doesn't work, it must work (exploit) others.

Next, he rents a loft. The landlord, another exploiter, makes him sign a lease and put up a deposit for advance rent. Ouch! Another piece bitten out of the capital and still no profit made! Money doesn't make money and a loft doesn't

make money. Both by themselves are losing propositions. Our friend must get machinery. He may buy or rent machinery. In either case, there goes some more of his capital.

Now, machinery doesn't operate automatically; the loft doesn't produce, and the money borrowed sweats interest. Our boss is now getting nervous—his wife probably more so. He is in business, but he is losing money. And so he must buy material or find a jobber to give him material with which to work.

However, the material doesn't finish itself, the machines don't move, the loft collects dust, and the banker collects interest.

Nothing doing yet. No money made. The boss hasn't exploited anybody yet but others are exploiting him.

Now he gets hysterical, and he cries "Help! Help! Help Wanted!" By newspaper ads, signs on the building, or calls to the union he "tells the world" he wants help!

Help? Yes, that means workers. And as they settle down at the machines and help turn out the finished product, the possibility of making money is in sight. "Help" produces the product, uses the machines and the loft, and makes possible the payment of interest. Labor alone does not produce wealth but it is the most important factor in wealth production.

As we have said, money produces nothing. A loft is only a vacant spot; machinery standing still rusts and material deteriorates; but when labor is hired, it brings the magic touch that puts life into all this dead stock.

And labor's reward? When the finished product is sold, labor receives wages out of the value created. (We insist on our wages even before the product is sold because we have created values.)

That isn't all. Out of the values produced by labor the banker gets his interest, the landlord his rent and the boss his profit. Labor supplies them all. No, this isn't robbery. This is exploitation!

Some day exploitation will be abolished, but until that

some day, the only power that can curb, check or control the degree of exploitation is the union. The union organizes the supply of help and unless decent terms are agreed upon between the help and the boss, the union will call out the help. That leaves the boss helpless!

This isn't a nice thing to do, but what else can we do?

III. WAGES

Now what do we mean by "wages"? Says one worker, "Wages are what you get for what you do." "You're a liar," says another polite toiler, "I do much more than I get paid for." Says another, "wages are paid according to what you are worth."

But it becomes quite clear when you examine the word "worth" that there is no yard stick with which to measure that. What you are worth is a personal estimate subject to taste and opinion and you can't let an employer decide that. What workers think they are worth is more interesting but workers don't always get what they think they are worth. Thinking alone will not get you better wages. Some professors insist that wages are the worker's share in production. That sounds too fancy. When and where did employers ever consider workers entitled to a share in production?

Long ago certain careful students of this subject, called economists, gave some serious thought and investigation to this subject and brought forth a theory of wages. No, a theory is not just a guess or a dream. A theory is also a handy explanation of a related number of facts. Note how helpful is this theory of wages:

Wages are determined by (a) the cost of existence; (b) the supply and demand of labor; (c) the prevailing standard of living; (d) the resistance and power of organized labor.

Now, let us elaborate this. In examining wages in many countries economists found that where wages were very low or relatively high, the price paid for labor always bore some

relationship to the cost of existence. Where wages are unbelievably low as in China, Japan or India, the cost of existence is, of course, also unbelievably cheap.

Wages are lower in Europe generally as compared to America but then again the cost of existence is generally lower over there. Wages vary in different parts of the U.S.A. They are lower in the South than in the North, lower in small towns and higher in big cities. The cost of existence also varies in the North, the South, the small town and the big city.

When economists claim that the wages usually stay close to the cost of existence in every country, they state a general fact. The exceptions will be noted in the next three sections of this lesson. Of course, wages often fall down to a miserable level of existence and sometimes even below that. Reaching that condition things begin to happen. Workers migrate, or go on relief, or raise hell if they are not too doped with political promises. Then business also takes notice. When wages drop below the cost of a measly existence, it is bad business generally. Some people seem to realize that if you starve the dog the fleas are also out of luck.

Supply and Demand

When onions or potatoes are plentiful, they are usually cheap. They may be of the best quality. However, when carrots and peas, or any other produce, is scarce, the prices are high and the quality may be low. So it is with labor. When many workers hunt for jobs the bosses are snooty and particular and wages are arranged on the basis of "Well, what will you work for?" But when labor is scarce and the season in full swing, the need for good workers is great (and that happens only too rarely!), then you tell the boss what you want.

They manipulate the market often and create an artificial scarcity of vegetables, fruits and other things. Yes, we have even seen the wholesale destruction of cotton, wheat,

coffee and other produce. That stupid thing is done to keep prices up and it is a sad reflection upon our state of civilization. Something of this sort can be done with the supply of labor. There are only two ways of doing it. One way is to elect an Execution Committee with full power to kill off surplus workers. That is a tough assignment. There would be too many candidates for such a committee. The only time the job of killing off surplus labor is done obligingly and legally is when some nice war comes along to make the world safe for democracy.

Then there is another and better way, and that is to fight for shorter hours, a shorter work-week, more holidays and no overtime. The only power that can do this trick speedily and continuously is a good fighting union.

The uncontrolled supply and demand of labor usually brings wages down to the lower levels of existence. But we can and we do control the supply and demand of many things, why not labor?

The Standard of Living

Now we come to the spice in the pudding. When we mentioned that wages usually gravitate to the level of existence and that the supply and demand of labor usually send wages down to that level and sometimes above it, we seemingly overlooked another important factor. It is called the Standard of Living.

This varies immensely from one country to another and in different parts of the same country. A Chinaman's wages are miserably low not only because the cost of his existence is cheap but because his standard of existence is low. The standard of living of a people is a changeable thing. It grows out of the character of the industry and resources of a nation, the tradition and customs of a people, and the literacy, education and progressiveness of the working people of that nation. There are various factors and forces that make for great differences in the standards of different people. A richer culture

creates larger demands upon life. The more one sees and knows the more one wants. A poor ignorant soul only has needs but an intelligent and aspiring individual has wants as well as needs.

In the light of our great technological equipment, our natural resources and our skill, and in the face of our enormous capacity to produce goods, it is the duty of the labor movement to fight for ever higher standards of living, for more, and more and still more of the good things of life.

Organized Labor's Power

This brings us to the most important of the four factors affecting wages. Wages are not paid purely on the basis of ability, skill and production. While it is true that wages seem to bear some relationship to the kind of work, the degree of skill and speed of the workers, it is nevertheless also true that the organized worker is better paid than one who is unorganized. The organized unskilled worker often is better paid than the unorganized skilled worker.

The point is that you are paid for what you fight. Your wages are determined by your resistance to the boss. He has power because he owns the shop. We also have power when we organize ourselves. We can put a higher valuation on our services. We will get what we deserve, and what we fight for.

IV. HOURS OF LABOR

One of the important demands of the Labor Movement today is the shorter work-day and work-week.

Economic, social and cultural benefits will follow the winning of this objective.

One of the conveniences of the capitalist system is that there usually are more workers than jobs. This works to the benefit of the bosses. The steady introduction of machinery and improved methods of production contribute toward this generous over-supply of jobless workers. We mentioned

that there is only one sensible solution and that is the fight for shorter hours, a shorter work-week, the abolition of the speed-up system and overtime, and gaining more holidays.

When the work-day and week are shortened and production is controlled by the union this must result in a call for more workers. That means more jobs. More workers at work means less workers unemployed. Less workers looking for jobs means better bargaining power for those working. Less fellows hanging around looking for your job makes the boss less anxious to get rid of you. He hates to let you go when it's no cinch to get someone to take your place. No matter how offensive your face and disposition might be to your boss, he doesn't want to part with you unless your substitute is in sight.

Labor and Machines

There is another economic angle involved. Fewer workers competing with each other means a better chance for higher wages. Higher wages means more purchasing power. More buying means more goods sold and more sales means more production. More production means more jobs. We got into the depression when this parade was reversed. We can get out of a depression when we start moving in the right direction, when we start moving towards shorter hours, more jobs, higher wages, more buying power and more production.

Shorter hours are the best answer to machinery and improved methods of production. After all, doesn't machinery, etc., turn out more goods in less time! Note—more goods in less time! Now, why should the boss alone benefit from the "less time"? Some say that machinery is "labor-saving."

Why should it be laborer saving! Machines should not save laborers which means more unemployment. No sir, we want to save labor. We want to save toil and save drudgery. After all, it's our interest, rather than the bosses', that we save our bones and muscles, our eyesight and nerves, our health, youth

and strength. Let the boss save his own. Since machines usually make us work faster, the wear and tear on us is greater than on the machine and on the boss. Shorter hours is our right and without shorter hours we speedily work ourselves out of a job.

Machines in the Home

There are machines that are a blessing and the relationship between them and us is perfect. We mean the new vacuum cleaner, washing-machine, or refrigerator we purchase for our home. How these fine tools cut down the hours of back-breaking drudgery and increase the time for leisure, loafing and everything else!

Now, imagine a fool husband saying to his machine-liberated spouse: "Madam, I have calculated that since the introduction of machinery into our domicile your working time has been cut 20 hours a week. Considering the necessity for reorganization and reducing our overhead, I find that I can dispense with part of your services. Hereafter, madam, you need come in only three days a week!"

Can you imagine that? No, we don't put the wife on part time. Because we own the machine (yes, there are some installments yet to be paid), we keep the wife on full time and she has a full time enjoying the new-found leisure. Now, that's our attitude towards machinery and improved methods.

Then there are social and cultural reasons for the fight for shorter hours. The shorter work-day and work-week means more jobs. More jobs means less competition among workers. Less competition for jobs means less friction and bitterness among workers. Less antagonism means more friendliness, more solidarity and more cooperation among workers. This is all to the good.

Work and Leisure

Shorter hours means more leisure, more leisure means more consumption and more business. Don't you eat more, drink

more and raise more cain when you are on a holiday, on a vacation or when you're just plain loafing? Don't you start to make whoopee the moment you get out of the slave pen?

That's what some economists mean when they speak of the increased economic demands growing out of increased leisure. Loafing always creates more demands on life than working. More leisure (and by leisure we mean loafing with an income) gives us more time for play and recreation, more time for the family and the kids, and more time for friends and neighbors.

For some of us, shorter hours also means more time for athletics, for education and for culture. And a healthier, happier and a more enlightened working class makes for better citizenship, better union members, better fighters and a forward-looking people.

Blessed are the shorter working hours! May they grow shorter and shorter—amen.

V. JOB CONTROL

The unorganized worker is a helpless slave. He must take what wages the boss will pay and work any length of hours that the boss may decide. He has no say about the conditions under which he must toil and he must suffer in silence every indignity and insult flung at him. Subject to every whim of the boss the unorganized worker is fired on the slightest pretext. He has no security in his job. Like a feather, he is blown about on every breeze.

The organized worker is in an entirely different relationship to the boss and to his job. Along with his shop-mates, the organized worker gains in standing and power. Facing the employer with the union behind him, he can talk terms and conditions. The union bargains collectively for all the workers and gets an agreement for the fixing of wage-scales or piece-work price scales. The union determines the minimum wage the industry can and must pay and it will

not let workers work for less. The union determines the maximum hours of work, provides for a division of work in slack times, regulates the amount of and payment for overtime and looks after the sanitary conditions of the shop and many more things concerning the health and comfort of the workers.

All of these terms and advantages are clinched in a contract between the union and the bosses. The most important condition imposed upon the bosses is the recognition of the union. This means that the employer must deal with labor collectively. He must understand that the human element in the industry is entitled to as much consideration as his investments, his machines and his materials. Organized labor forces him to recognize this fact. Where labor is not organized *the boss forces his will* upon every worker in the shop.

Recognition of the union, that is, recognition of the rights and power of the workers collectively, means a curtailment of the bosses' right to hire and fire. No, this does not mean that the employer is compelled to take the slow and the inefficient worker. The union is not a hold-up or a racket. It insists that the worker should be a good mechanic and many unions have industrial schools and compel workers to pass examinations before they are sent to jobs. A mechanic must meet certain standards; an apprentice, helper or beginner may need less requirements. In many trades, the union makes a rule that the employer may hire any worker for a trial period of a week or more and if the employer keeps the worker after this period (which means that the worker is satisfactory), then the employer cannot fire the worker. Of course, he may lay off many or all in slack seasons, but if he has any work at all the employer must share this equally among all of his employees. He can't keep some and fire others. He is not permitted to pick whom he pleases. After all, the boss is seldom fussy about the various qualities of skill and speed among workers when he is in the busy season. Any fairly good worker is acceptable. The boss

becomes particular only in the slow season, when workers are plentiful.

Curtailling or taking away his right to hire and fire makes a boss madder than a hornet. He will often give you higher wages, shorter hours and much else but he stubbornly balks at union recognition, which means a closed or preferential shop. A closed shop means that only union workers may be hired. A preferential shop is one where the boss must give preference to union workers, but failing to obtain a sufficient crew, he may also hire non-union workers. In such shops the non-union worker must join the union at the earliest opportunity and the employer is not permitted to interfere.

As we have said before, this is poison to an employer. How he hates that challenge to his dignity as a boss. "What do you mean," says he, "I can't hire and fire as I please. Ain't I the boss? Don't I own this shop? Isn't this my business?" "Yes," says the union, "you are the owner and you have money invested in the business. But the workers also put something into your business. Thanks to the workers, their skill and production, you have built up your business, your reputation for quality and output, and your profits. They have invested their health and strength, their nerves and eyesight. After years in your shop these workers suffer a wear and tear that no money can replace. To let you pick and fire whom you don't want or don't like is a power you are not morally entitled to. You may be the boss, the owner, the great mogul, but, by gosh, you owe some responsibility to your employees. You can't just squeeze them as you would an orange and throw the skin away."

"Suppose you owned horses? You can throw out a machine, a fixture or a piece of goods, but does our civilization let you throw out a horse? You know you would be arrested for cruelty to animals if you layed-off or fired a horse? And why should we let you fire a worker? If the worker is really inefficient or a terrible nuisance in your shop the union will investigate and if your charges are cor-

rect, the union will give you another mechanic. But we just can't let you decide these matters all by yourself. We have had too many sad experiences with your crowd."

The main reason in this logic is as follows. The best contracts with employers, all the agreed-upon terms, as to wages, hours, overtime, holidays, etc., don't enforce themselves. No law ever enforces itself. There must be power to do that trick. The union must be that power and the workers in the shop are part of the union. They must insist that all the terms agreed upon are lived up to by the boss and the union. If the union offends, the boss can appeal to a higher body, to the joint board or the international union or to a board of arbitration. When the boss offends, the worker calls upon his union for protection. Now if we let the boss hire and fire when he pleases what is there to prevent him from hiring only helpless slaves and firing those who put up a fight for their rights?

The boss says that the worker is no good, too slow, too old, too fresh or too quarrelsome. Very often, the union knows that these are phoney reasons. The facts may be that this worker is a good mechanic but he is too alert, too aggressive, too militant in guarding his own interests and those of other workers. If you let the boss fire him then the boss undermines the power of the union. And when he gets away with that he destroys all the terms of the agreement.

Job control is the most important item in any contract with employers. Job control means security in the right to earn a decent livelihood and it raises the worker to an equal footing with the employer. It changes the position of the boss from one of an irresponsible exploiter to a business man with a greater responsibility for the health and welfare of his employees, the human beings who help him gain his good livelihood.

VI. TRADE UNIONS AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

It is well known that the recurring industrial depressions that bring so much suffering and bankruptcy are the products of economic insanity. When we look into the nature of industry we see a bewildering chaos, a state of anarchy. We see a condition of disorder, a lack of system and coordination. Employers compete with each other for business. Each is constantly on the alert to steal orders or trade from another. Men go into business on a gamble and those who fail are more numerous than those who succeed. With little relationship to what an industry can stand, altogether too many manufacturers plunge into business and the result is an immense waste of capital, a duplication of plants, machinery, etc. They recklessly ignore the actual needs of the market. There is little control over quality, style or out-put. The total result is one of uncertainty, insecurity and the calamity of waste.

The boss is not the only victim of this chaos. The workers suffer most. Learning a trade, expecting thereby to earn a decent livelihood and to maintain a family in comfort and security, the worker also takes a gamble. Too many workers learn a trade. The seasons are uncertain, the job is unsteady and the fear of unemployment and want is constantly with them. This is bad enough for the organized worker who has at least some protection. For the unorganized, it is hell.

We are living in hectic times and things are happening every day. Furthermore, things must happen. Conditions are driving men to desperate measures. Events are giving body to our dreams. For example, the N.R.A., the Guffey Act, and other "New Deal" legislation were laws attempting to regulate business with the view of curbing reckless competition, "unfair practices" and establishing uniform standards, minimum wages, maximum hours and the elimination of child labor. These measures were designed to produce some system and coordination in business in place of chaos.

Organization Means Power

Trade-unionism also is an instrument of social progress. It is a force that compels cooperation. As soon as the workers organize, the bosses in the industry phone each other for a meeting. Yes, they are often organized long before the workers wake up to the need of organization. But when the bosses are faced with an organization of workers, the situation changes. The bosses now face a power and a reality. When power clashes with power, things happen, adjustments and compromises are inevitable.

Organized labor and organized bosses now talk to each other and make terms. The unorganized boss and the unorganized worker are outcasts and are despised by both sides. Intelligent bosses recognize the value of organized labor. Thanks to it, the bosses *must* get together. They must curb reckless competition and "unfair practices." They must establish uniform standards, wages, hours, etc. Doesn't your boss often tell you that he would gladly give you everything the union demands if only his competitors would do likewise? Well, when we organize an industry, we compel every employer to adopt the same standards. Just as the union will punish any of its members if they violate its rules, so the bosses' organization deals with its brethren.

Organization compels system, coordination and planning. Political measures and pressure can push in this direction. But labor organizations are also a great propelling force. That is what we meant when we said "The N.R.A. is dead! But long live the Union!" Where labor is organized the chaos and anarchy of industry is, to some extent, reduced. Standards rise, conditions improve and some measure of security is obtained.

Join the union! Become a faithful and active member!
Help work for a better civilization!

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